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The Shape of Things

MARSHAL BADOGLIO, ITALY'S FOREMOST soldier, has been let out, not because he bungled the Albanian campaign, but because he opposed it in the first place. It is unhealthy to be in a position to say "I told you so" to a dictator. Probably his successor will not make the same mistake since he is reputed to be a "political" soldier and good party yes-man. The other changes in the Italian military and naval high command are less easy to explain except in so far as the general lack of success of Italian arms makes recourse to new blood an obvious expedient. But even the most competent leadership is going to have its work cut out in reestablishing the balance in Albania. With the capture of Agyrokastron, the Greeks have consolidated their positions and are now advancing cautiously but steadily in the direction of the Albanian oil fields. Rumors of anti-fascist riots continue to seep out of Italy, and the admission in a leading party organ that the regime has been unable to curb rising prices suggests one cause of discontent. And now the British forces in Egypt are increasing their pressure on Graziani's stalled army. The large-scale raid on the Italian flank has yielded a large number of prisoners and seems to have imperiled the Italian position at Sidi Barrani. If the Libyan army proves infected with the Albanian dry rot, this move may develop into a major offensive.

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THE DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS on a motion favoring an immediate attempt to seek a compromise peace served three purposes. It knocked on the head rumors of peace feelers emanating from Lisbon, Vichy, and Rome; it provided new proof of the robust survival of democracy in Britain; it demonstrated the extent of national solidarity behind the government's policy of maintaining the fight until Nazism is broken. The motion was put forward by three members of the Independent Labor Party, whose arguments received a perfectly orderly hearing before being almost unanimously rejected in the lobbies. They proposed that Hitler should be approached now with the offer of a peace conference on the basis of acceptance by both sides of "the restoration of freedom in all countries" and of a common pool of material resources "to bring about a new civilization in the world." The lofty optimism of these proposals suggests blind ignorance of the nature of Nazi ideology. The statement by John McGovern, mover of the resolution, that Britain today was nearer to totalitarian government than it had ever been before shows a sad lack of appreciation of the realities of totalitarian rule. In reply Clement Attlee, speaking for the government, said with marked understatement: "Probably this debate is one which would not be tolerated in any other country at war." That is the crux of the matter. If German pacifists were allowed to speak their minds freely and denounce Hitler's ambitions, then a compromise between Germany and Britain might be possible, for the two countries would again be recognizing common values. But between totalitarianism and democracy there is no means of communication save by the broken bridge of appeasement.

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PROPOSALS FOR EXTENDING CREDIT TO Franco continue to be reported and denied. Such a move would be the most hopeless attempt at appeasement yet on record. Aside from the ethics of helping a dictator who has instituted one of the most brutal regimes in Europe, what concerns us is the utter futility of a course which would be based on the assumption that General Franco is free to decide whether he will enter the war. Nothing could be farther from the fact. With a huge German army poised on the Spanish border, Franco must enter the war when Hitler gives the word and on Hitler's terms. If, frustrated in the Balkans, Hitler decides tomorrow that he must seize Gibraltar in order to bolster his ebbing prestige, Franco will have no choice but to participate in the attack. If, on the other hand, Hitler prefers to wait until Spain has accumulated foodstuffs, gasoline, and other needed supplies, Franco can wait. Britain's experience with Italy last spring should provide a clear answer to anyone who professes to hope that Spain will remain out of the war if we provide it with sufficient supplies. Hitler has other plans for Spain, as he had for Italy.

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THE CHARGE THAT THE WALSH-HEALEY ACT is obstructing the placing of defense orders has been given considerable prominence in the daily press. Basis for the charge is alleged to be found in the annual report of Rear Admiral Ray Spear, chief of the navy's Bureau of Supplies and Accounts. Regarding the facts there can be no dispute. Specific cases cited in the report show the difficulties encountered by the Navy Department in placing orders for equipment because of employers' objections to complying with the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act, particularly in the matter of hours of work and payment of overtime. From this the inference is drawn, in the press, that the law is a menace to the national defense and should be changed. A careful reading of the report does not, however, justify this conclusion. It indicates, on the contrary, that in an effort to controvert the wages and hours provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act, now practically identical with the Labor Standards Act, the manufacturers of certain articles needed for defense engaged in an organized sitdown strike. The report naturally does not use such harsh words in describing the difficulties encountered in placing a contract for 2,000 aircraft clocks, but the uniform opposition to accepting contracts requiring compliance with the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act strongly suggests what, if labor were involved, would be called conspiracy. The fact that obstruction of this type was confined to a few industries reinforces the suspicion that it was not spontaneous. The President has power under the Selective Service Act to deal with situations of this kind.

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THE UNSCRUPULOUSNESS OF COMMUNISTS and their capacity for mischief make it all too easy to slide into an attitude of indifference toward such organized red-hunts as the Rapp-Coudert committee is now sponsoring in the New York City school system. The disposition to give the green light to these enterprises is dangerous, even when they are conducted with a greater show of decency than the Dies committee allows. They serve to obscure in the public mind the simple fact that membership in the Communist Party is not a violation of the laws of this country or of any of the forty-eight states. Communists, like Republicans and Buchmanites, may, in the pursuit of their peculiar interests, violate the law, and when they do they should be prosecuted. A legislative committee bent on uncovering violations of the law is justifiable and may be useful, but so far the Rapp-Coudert committee has been nothing of the sort. It appears to be interested solely in "exposing" Communists as such. If any violations of the law, in letter or in spirit, have figured in the proceedings, they must be chalked up against the committee itself, which has sought to compel witnesses to testify, in private and without counsel, before a one-man subcommittee without allowing them a transcript of their testimony; which has ordered trade-union officials to hand over their membership lists, and permitted witnesses to damage professional reputations without being subjected to cross-examination. It is too bad that not one of the accused has seen fit to come forward and say, "Yes, I'm a Communist. What of it?" That might bring matters to a head and confront the committee with a real issue in place of backstairs gossip. But who supposes that the Couderts and the Dieses are looking for real issues?

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ALTHOUGH THE ST. LAWRENCE SEAWAY and power treaty may encounter bitter opposition in the Senate when it is resubmitted by President Roosevelt, there seems little danger that the 1934 rejection will be repeated. The President is on strong ground when he insists that both the navigation and the power aspects of the project would contribute substantially to the national defense. Opening of the Great Lakes to navigation by deep-sea vessels would give the United States protected ports far in the interior of the country. And this, as the President points out, would permit the creation of new shipbuilding facilities in sheltered sections of the country. Fully as important would be the creation of a vast amount of new, cheap power available for use in congested industrial areas. Economically, the project was felt to be sound enough in ordinary times to justify financing it by private capital alone; under present circumstances it should pay for itself in a comparatively short period. Politically, the prospects for the project have been materially improved by the withdrawal of the opposition of Ontario's Premier Hepburn. While the temper of the new Senate has not manifested itself, a reversal of the 1934 verdict seems assured.

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ANY ADVANTAGE THAT CHINA MAY GAIN from the recent American loan will be more than offset if shipments of strategic war materials from this country to Japan are continued. Despite much discussion of the possibility, no embargo has yet been placed on the export of petroleum or ordinary gasoline. There has been no interference with the shipment of copper. Nor has action been taken even to stop the export of zinc and steel, two metals desperately needed in our own defense program. The *Wall Street Journal* reports that zinc and brass fabricating plants all over the country are being forced to curtail work needed for the defense program because of a shortage of zinc attributable primarily to huge shipments to Japan. In the case of steel, a serious shortage hampering all types of defense work is expected to materialize within the next six months. The new facilities which are being constructed are not expected to be completed in less than nine months and may possibly take much longer. Under the circumstances,

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quite apart from the question of arming a potential enemy, it is only sound sense to restrict exports until the emergency is past.

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FOR THE SECOND TIME WITHIN A YEAR THE Supreme Court, speaking through Justice Black, has interfered to bring justice to a Negro in the South. On last February 12—Lincoln's birthday—the court set aside the conviction of four Negroes in Florida for murder on the ground that their confessions had been obtained by third-degree methods. This time it set free a Negro convicted of rape, and it did so on the ground that the Texas county in which he was convicted discriminated against Negroes in picking its grand juries. "For racial discrimination to result in the exclusion from jury service of otherwise qualified groups," Justice Black wrote for a unanimous court, "not only violates our Constitution and the laws enacted under it but is at war with our basic concepts of a democratic society and a representative government." The decision shows the court again going beyond the words of a statute and even the intentions of those enforcing it to the actual result. The Texas statute does not discriminate against Negroes. The jury commissioners testified that their failure to put any Negroes on the jury involved in this case was not intentional, if discriminatory. Justice Black ruled that the conviction must be reversed whether the discrimination was "accomplished ingeniously or ingenuously."

Financing Britain

IT IS time for us to engage in some cool, realistic thinking about the problem of financing British purchases in this country, and to do that we must grasp the meaning to Britain of American planes, steel, and other war supplies. These goods do not represent merely an addition to a margin of safety: they are the one hope of establishing that material superiority over Germany without which British courage and will to win cannot produce victory.

The question has become urgent, not because British dollar resources are now exhausted, but because they are largely pledged to meet contracts already signed for deliveries stretching well into 1942. To offset losses through air and submarine raids and to keep pace with increased German production in the occupied territories, Britain must be able to expand vastly its purchases in America, and it cannot go ahead making commitments unless it is able to insure payment. For instance, it has become essential for Britain to supplement its shipbuilding capacity in order to offset the dent which sea warfare is making in the merchant marine. It is buying, at inflated prices, all the serviceable American ships it can get, but it also needs hundreds of new vessels, and our yards are already booked nearly to capacity. Plans are therefore being drawn up for the construction of new yards to be financed by the British government at a tentative total cost of $750,000,000. This illustrates the enormous sums involved in keeping Britain supplied with the absolute essentials of victory.

In recent days British representatives have been meeting with Administration officials, and there have been many hints that something is going to be done. It has been suggested that a way may be found of getting around the provisions of the Johnson and Neutrality acts through the instrumentality of the Export-Import Bank or the Stabilization Fund. We sincerely hope there will be no resort to such hole-in-the-corner tactics. The time has come to face the issues, and we look to the President to present a concrete program to Congress and to explain his reasons to the people at large by means of the radio.

The first item in such a program should be the repeal of the Johnson and Neutrality acts, which are doing nothing to keep us out of war but are acting as a pair of self-imposed handcuffs hindering our declared policy of "all aid short of war." But do not let us think that repeal, by itself, would solve Britain's financial problem. It would enable a private loan to be floated if terms could be arranged with the bankers. In the last war a bond issue was floated with British-owned American securities pledged as collateral. British holdings of United States stocks and bonds in September, 1939, were estimated at around $1,000,000,000, but subsequent sales have reduced this total by something like a fifth. The remainder would cover a loan of perhaps $600,000,000. But obviously this would add nothing to existing British resources; it would only assist their quick mobilization and prevent losses through forced liquidation in a poor market. At best, therefore, it only means postponing for a short time the problem of finding new financial resources.

One proposal which is meeting with a certain amount of press support and will undoubtedly find advocates in Congress is that the United States should buy from Britain its Atlantic and Caribbean colonies. It is suggested that the value of this "real estate" for defense purposes would make it worth while to pay a really generous price. The promoters of this idea, however, fail to take into account the fact that the inhabitants of these colonies do not want to be sold and would rather be British subjects than American wards. Nor has any consideration been given to how such acquisitions would be fitted into the American economy. Are they to be brought within our customs boundaries, or are we to use them simply as fortresses without taking any responsibility for the welfare of their inhabitants? We trust that further discussion of this plan will expose it for what it is—a piece of half-baked imperialism.

We should also like to enter a caveat against a government loan to Britain unless the contract is so drawn as to

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prevent a new war-debts controversy. Such a loan would, in effect, be a loan of goods and should be repayable only in goods. Hence the rate of repayment after the war would depend on our willingness to facilitate the entry of British merchandise.

But even if this safeguard could be introduced, we should prefer outright gifts or subsidies to loans. Either the interests of this country are vitally affected by the outcome of Britain's struggle or they are not. If we have only a sentimental stake in the war, if it is a matter of indifference to our future whether Britain goes down to total defeat or, faced by hopeless odds, buys peace by adopting totalitarian government and agreeing to further Hitler's world empire, then we should neither give nor lend money. But the whole "short-of-war" policy, which has been indorsed by the vast majority of Americans, is premised on the belief that the defeat of Hitler is our vital concern. This being so, is our aid to Britain to be confined to the filling of profitable contracts and the granting of loans on a strictly business basis? Britain is not sparing itself in this fight. Its people are paying daily in blood, sweat, and tears. Surely if their victory means to us what we say it does, we are prepared to see that they do not fail for lack of dollars.

Food for Nazi Victims?

ELSEWHERE in this issue of *The Nation* will be found two articles presenting opposing views on the question of feeding the populations of the German-occupied areas of Europe. Both are persuasive; both are humanitarian in the truest sense of the word. In this country we have large surpluses of wheat, corn, and other foods, much of which may soon go to waste. In Europe there are millions of persons who, if not actually faced with starvation, are threatened with undernourishment, illness, and an abnormal death-rate if they do not receive aid. The ones who will suffer most are the wholly innocent—mothers, children, and invalids in the occupied countries. Yet any aid given will, in some degree, weaken England's one reliable weapon—the blockade—and thereby play into Hitler's hands.

This is a heartbreaking issue, all the more difficult because we still lack the information that is necessary to a final decision. We have, for instance, widely varying stories as to the extent of the food shortage in Europe. Mr. Possony is inclined, on the basis of careful study, to minimize the deficiency. Dr. Hamilton gives no figures, but assumes a condition comparable to that which existed in Germany in 1919 after more than four years of war. Equally unknown is the extent to which American food, if sent, would make it possible for Germany to drain supplies from the conquered territories. We know that Germany has already confiscated large amounts of food in Denmark, Norway, Holland, and France. We know that within recent weeks substantial amounts have been shipped from Spain to Germany, despite an unquestioned shortage of food in Spain. We do not know to what degree American food distributed to the occupied areas could be kept from Germany by careful supervision. Obviously, any distribution of food will lighten Hitler's burden and increase the productive value of the occupied countries. But there would undoubtedly be a difference between the effects of a distribution of food by, say, the Quakers, and the effects of its distribution by an organization functioning under the politically ambitious Mr. Hoover, who has set up a committee composed largely of persons known for their anti-British bias to supply food to the "five small democracies."

Before deciding whether we should or should not use our influence to induce the British to weaken their blockade, even to a limited extent, it seems imperative that we first obtain authentic information on these points. The actual food situation in the occupied areas can be determined with fair accuracy if Germany is willing to allow the facts to be known. It should also be possible to find out to what degree Germany is prepared to cooperate in allowing an efficient, neutral supervision of the distribution of food. Such information can be had only by sending an able, responsible investigating commission to Europe. We have scattered information—from the Quakers regarding France and from Jewish organizations regarding Poland; but the type of information we need can be obtained only from the German and British governments by an official or semi-official delegation. Even if one feels in advance, as Mr. Roosevelt apparently does, that food should not be sent, such a conclusion would be far more convincing if it were based on the investigation of an impartial commission.

But even if general relief cannot be given without endangering England's, and therefore Europe's, one hope of victory, there may be ways of extending limited aid under adequate safeguards. It might be possible, for instance, to feed the children and the sick under some such supervision as the Quakers could provide. Neither children nor the infirm can be transformed into productive workers for the Reich. For this reason they are unlikely to be cared for if the food situation becomes as desperate as some observers have predicted that it will. Furthermore, it should be possible to work out some provision for feeding the refugees and political prisoners in the concentration camps. Reports indicate that these unfortunate victims have been getting little to eat under ordinary circumstances. If the situation became worse, they would almost certainly starve without outside aid. Food for special groups such as these would hardly make a dent in the British blockade.

It may be, of course, that Great Britain would oppose even such restricted aid to the victims of Nazi aggres-

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sion. But the real obstacles are likely to be interposed by Germany. Hitler may feel that it is unwise to allow any neutral group to know the true conditions in the occupied areas. He may be afraid to permit the democracies to gain the prestige that would accrue from feeding hungry children, the ill, and the oppressed. If the Third Reich is determined to starve its subject populations rather than allow assistance from abroad under rigid political safeguards, the sooner that fact is known the better. Before committing ourselves let us have the full facts so that we can judge the issue on its merits.

Watch Joe Kennedy!

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE appeasement forces in the United States begin to coalesce, to harden into organized bodies, to find leaders and spokesmen. Soft, vague peace-lovers are being sloughed off or, if their names have value, are attached as camp followers. The tough ones remain. Two of the toughest, who may well emerge as leaders in a movement which must draw influence and financing from the right and members from the left, are John L. Lewis and Joseph P. Kennedy. Follow the course of these two men from today on. Both are strong and determined and devious, and they know what they want. Ostensibly they want peace for their country—even if that peace rests finally on the sword-point of triumphant fascism. In practice this means that they will prevent by all the means in their power the continued increase of American aid to Britain. They will try to spread a mood of defeat, contempt both for Britain's chances and the cause for which it is battling. They will try to make us lose faith in ourselves, in the vitality of our institutions and our power to defend them. In short, whether deliberately or by accident, they will work for the victory of the Axis.

The organization through which they will work will probably be the America First Committee. As far as I know, neither man is now a member, but the committee is well organized, well backed, and staffed with a collection of expert big-time appeasers, including William R. Castle, Jr., Henry Ford, and Charles A. Lindbergh. Kathryn Lewis is also on the national advisory board of the committee and may be assumed to represent her father's views, since they coincide to the last detail with the America First program. As for Kennedy, he can hardly become an active member until his resignation as ambassador to Great Britain has been accepted. Why the President failed to accept it the day it was submitted is a mystery. Perhaps he hoped the title would serve as a partial curb on Mr. Kennedy's infinite capacity for indiscretion. If so, he should have known better. The Ambassador's outspoken nature is as notorious in London as it is in the United States, and not even his equal facility in denying his quoted remarks has offset the effect of his irresponsible babblings while in office. Surely it would be better to allow Kennedy to spread defeatist propaganda as a member of the America First Committee than as ambassador.

Watch these three: the committee, the ex-envoy, the ex-labor leader. They are all dangerous, and it takes no prescience to assert that they will soon be found working together.

The probable role of John L. Lewis will be discussed in a later issue. This week I want to review very briefly the record of Joseph P. Kennedy. He was, to start with, nor has he ceased to be, essentially a Wall Street man with a flair for successful stock manipulation. His record prior to his selection by President Roosevelt for head of the SEC was as innocent of any taint of public service as that of Wendell L. Willkie. He is able and energetic, a personal friend of the President's, and was a large contributor to the Roosevelt campaign in 1932. Those were his qualifications for high office. He served as SEC chairman for a year or so, performing a function of appeasement for which he was obviously qualified by conviction and temperament. Then he went to the Maritime Commission, where he tackled a well-nigh hopeless job realistically and without any marked success. He got on badly with labor, well with the industry, and at least demonstrated an unusual degree of frankness in publicly reporting on the true state of maritime affairs. His appointment as ambassador to the Court of St. James's was greeted with good-humored tolerance even by liberals, including *The Nation*. Among rich men of no diplomatic experience—the type traditionally chosen for the most important diplomatic post in the service—he seemed more human and independent than most. One could not foresee what effect the impact of fascism and war would have on the mind of a Boston Irish-American turned big business man.

The full facts were revealed by Munich. Whether it was by Kennedy's advice that Mr. Roosevelt made his well-intentioned and ill-fated attempts to bring the dictators to reason I do not know. The New York *Times*, in an editorial laboriously whitewashing the Ambassador, insists that he "played his part to the full" in that effort. It is certain, in any case, that at the time of Munich he stood solidly with the appeasement elements in the British government; it is certain that he took the same view when the showdown finally came in 1939. His close associates in England were the arch-capitulators, Montagu Norman and Sir Horace Wilson and Sir John Simon, and, of course, Chamberlain himself. It will not be forgotten that soon after his appointment Kennedy told a friend with disarming candor, "I'm just like that with Chamberlain. Why, Franklin himself isn't as confidential with me as the Prime Minister."

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Kennedy's recent record has been definitively set down by Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner in the New York *Herald Tribune*. I'll quote a few paragraphs which sum it up perfectly:

> After the war began he bombarded the [State] Department with repeated expressions of almost unalloyed defeatism. Sometimes these were too extreme to suit Kennedy himself and he would then telephone the department and ask that his previous day's cable be read in the light of another dispatch. But unless his former associates are wilfully misrepresenting him Kennedy's warning to the President that Britain was utterly worthless as an ally, sent a few weeks before his return, was fairly typical of his regular output.
>
> Since Kennedy's return to this country his course has been pretty difficult to follow. For example, at a luncheon with a number of extremely influential men in New York just after he landed he was understood to say that "Britain is busted." Yet unless the President misheard him, or misquoted him to the Treasury, he warned the President while he was in Washington against being deceived into extending financial aid to Britain by any false British pleas of exhausted resources.
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> Again, although the Kennedy pattern appears to be a leading business man, politician, or publisher frightened into something approaching a fit, he has flatly denied being a defeatist. Fortunately, however, there is Kennedy's Boston interview to throw light on the situation.
>
> It was in this remarkable interview, first printed in the Boston *Globe*, that Kennedy most fully admitted the public to his secret mind, covering Norman with grease, denouncing such British leaders as Ernest Bevin as the precursors of "National Socialism," and declaring frankly that Lindbergh "is not so crazy either."
>
> The interview was written by Louis Lyons, a highly reputable reporter and one of Kennedy's oldest journalistic friends. It was read to Kennedy on the morning it was printed, when one of the *Globe* editors telephoned him for comment on the death of Neville Chamberlain. Kennedy offered no objection. It was again read to him the same afternoon when British newspapers and news services requested permission to quote it. On this occasion Kennedy was specifically asked to approve the quotations appearing in the interview and willingly consented to do so. Yet a day or so later, after he found himself in trouble, he blandly repudiated the same interview he had twice heard and passed on, declaring it was not authorized and tended to misrepresent him. Under the circumstances, one wonders what weight to attach to Kennedy's subsequent loud disclaimers of defeatism and appeasement tendencies.

Another talented pair of Washington reporters, Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen, have added a few items of Kennediana in their own syndicated column. They say that the Ambassador at a private gathering in Hollywood repeated his conviction that Britain was as good as defeated and that the United States should help Britain only to gain time for its own rearmament. And he said that Hollywood should stop making films offensive to the dictators. The column also reported that Mr. Kennedy had visited California in order to call on William Randolph Hearst, "to consider a proposal by banking interests that he join the Hearst newspaper enterprises." (It may be noted, incidentally, that this item was omitted from the column as it appeared in the New York *Mirror*, a Hearst tabloid.)

The basic motive behind Joseph P. Kennedy's peace-through-appeasement program emerges clearly from his record and from all the reports. It is evident that his passion for peace is rooted in a contempt for democracy, that his desire to appease the dictators is linked with a strong fear of socialism and the power of labor. Kennedy wants no truck with an England that is moving along the lines described by Ralph Bates in this issue. He prefers a policy of surrender in the interests of reaction. He may well become the most effective American agent of the appeasement elements that were determined to use Willkie as their leader. Mr. Kennedy will go along without even threatening to kick over the traces.

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Behind the Ford Contract

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, December 9

EDWARD F. McGRADY has many friends here. He was labor trouble-shooter for Newton D. Baker in the last war and for Hugh Johnson during the NRA. His appointment to a similar position under Secretary of War Stimson has won wide approval. This is the story of the first of the hot potatoes he must handle. His friends say that he thrives on them.

The story concerns Henry Ford and the readiness of the Administration to keep its word to labor. "In times of emergency even more than in ordinary times," Secretary Stimson told the A. F. of L. convention at New Orleans on November 18, "the responsible trade union is an indispensable instrument of national well-being because through it the free cooperation of labor is enlisted and assured in the national task which confronts us." Presumably the Defense Commission agrees. For in the statement of labor policy issued by it on August 31 it said that "all work carried on as part of the defense program should comply with federal statutory provisions affecting labor." The Wagner Act was specifically mentioned in that statement as one of the statutes to be enforced on defense contracts. Ford, with no fewer than six Labor Board decisions outstanding against him, one of them already upheld in the United States Circuit Court, is the country's foremost violator of the Wagner Act. Yet he has just been awarded his second contract.

This new contract involves some unusual angles here brought to public attention for the first time. The excuse for the first contract, awarded the day after the election, was the desperate need for plane engines. Ford was given a $122,000,000 contract for some 3,000 air-cooled Pratt and Whitney engines. There is no such excuse for the second contract, which was cleared by the Defense Commission on November 27. This is a $2,000,000 contract, of which $600,000 is for light five-passenger cars and $1,400,000 for trucks. Both cars and trucks could have been purchased elsewhere. If Mr. McGrady will investigate that part of the contract which is for trucks he will find that certain officials of the Defense Commission and the War Department have gone out of their way to favor Ford. He will learn not only that the award of this contract to Ford has angered labor's representatives on the Defense Commission and precipitated a bitter behind-the-scenes fight but also that it has disgusted many ranking officers of the army. For Ford is being permitted to "muscle in" and reap the benefit of an important new development in mechanized warfare, with great peace-time potentialities, although the army itself and a small manufacturer cooperating with the army did the pioneering. Mr. McGrady will discover that the Defense Commission cleared the Ford contract even though Ford has yet to meet the army's specifications for these trucks. Pressure is now being brought to bear by Ford and by his friends on the commission and in the War Department to change the specifications to meet what Ford can produce rather than what the army needs.

The "trucks," as they are called in the Defense Commission release, are actually not trucks at all but a new type of four-wheel-drive midget car which can serve many purposes. It can go cross-country. It can be used for reconnaissance. It can be converted into a moving machine-gun nest. It can bring up supplies to men and fuel to tanks. The idea for such a car seems to have originated several years ago with Lieutenant Colonel Robert G. Howie, stationed at Fort Benning, Georgia. It was scoffed at in military circles until the German attack on the Low Countries and France showed that the Nazis were using a similar vehicle. The Quartermaster Corps remained skeptical until Charles H. Payne, assistant to the head of the Bantam Automobile Company at Butler, Pennsylvania, managed to reach Harry Woodring, then Secretary of War. Woodring saw the possibilities in this midget military vehicle. A technical committee representing ordnance, infantry, cavalry, and Quartermaster Corps went to the Bantam plant. Plans were worked out by army officers and Bantam. Bids were asked in June for seventy cars. Only Bantam and Willys Overland bid, and the former was awarded the contract. Bantam built the seventy cars within the time limit set, and they met with an enthusiastic reception when they were given a test about six weeks ago at Fort Myer.

The Ford Company had been watching developments closely. Ford representatives appeared at the Bantam plant after the first contract was awarded. I am told that they said they were not interested in bidding on the midget military car but wanted to see if they could sell Bantam the Ford motor or any parts. They examined the drawings and discussed plans with Bantam officials. After the test at Fort Myer the army decided to order 1,500 cars for extended field tests. The order was to go to Bantam, but the Quartermaster Corps made an informal commitment to Ford and Willys Overland for 500 cars each. The Quartermaster Corps was overruled, and the contract for the 1,500 went to Bantam. The contract was

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cleared on November 25. Meanwhile influence had been brought to bear on the Defense Commission, and the Defense Commission in turn brought pressure on the army. It was decided to "develop other sources of supply" and to give a contract for 1,500 each to Ford and Willys-Overland provided they could meet specifications. The most important specification is that of weight, which is set at 2,000 pounds so that the car will be light enough to be picked up by its crew. The Willys-Overland car is said to be 400 pounds heavier than that; the Ford about 200 pounds heavier. Yet a contract was cleared on November 27 for Ford, and a revision upward of the weight specification is being sought.

Huge orders for ten-and-a-half-ton trucks go to General Motors on the ground that to give one manufacturer a large order permits "standardization." But although 8,000 or 10,000 of these midget cars are all that the army is likely to want, the orders are to be split among three manufacturers on the ground of "developing additional sources of supply." Ford may or may not be able to meet specifications and begin production at once. Bantam needs the order, and Butler, Pennsylvania, needs the extra employment. Bantam could concentrate on the midget car and turn out all the army needs within a year. To give the work to Bantam would spread defense work, reward a small manufacturer for cooperating with the army, make it unnecessary to award another defense contract to a Wagner Act violator.

Behind Ford's eagerness to get the contract is the hope that after the war this midget car can be developed into an all-purpose farm machine which can pull a plow by day and take the family to the movies at night. The "bottleneck" is the Spicer axle used in these cars, and the next step will be an attempt to obtain priority for Ford on the axles. This contract, though cleared by the Defense Commission, cannot take effect until Ford meets army specifications or the specifications are changed. There is still time to show labor that the Defense Commission and the War Department intend to keep their promises.

Shall We Feed Hitler's Victims?

[*The two articles which follow are not presented as a debate but rather as two answers to a highly controversial problem.* The Nation's *own views on the subject are discussed editorially in this issue.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Feed the Hungry!

BY ALICE HAMILTON

THE Quakers are asking for help to send food to France, to the Low Countries, to Norway. We answer their plea with a refusal, because to send food would be to weaken the British blockade and thus perhaps bring about Britain's defeat, or at least prolong the war. We say that if we try to feed the conquered countries we shall be feeding Germany, since even if Hitler does not commandeer our supplies he will be able to keep for his own people the food which, without our help, he would be obliged to send to those countries. If it is really impossible to help these people without indirectly helping Germany, then throughout this winter we shall have to watch the inevitable starvation of thousands of helpless people, especially the "sick persons and young children" whom for centuries Christians have commended to the care of a merciful God.

Many Americans who are quite as kind and pitiful as I am believe that this is the right thing to do, but they do not know what mass starvation is, they have not seen it with their own eyes as I have. The memory of it has been so burned into my mind that now, after twenty-one years, I cannot keep silent if that weapon is to be deliberately used again. In June and July of 1919 I went with Jane Addams and Carolena Wood, a Quaker, over a large part of Germany, to see what the blockade had done to the people. It had just been lifted, for though the terms of the Armistice had called for its lifting in November, that promise had not been kept. Not until peace was signed in June was food allowed to go in, for the victorious powers knew that the Treaty of Versailles would never be accepted except under the compulsion of starvation. We had heard in Paris that every time the German government hesitated or refused, a mob would form in the Alexanderplatz, a mob of the starving, and march to the Wilhelmstrasse clamoring for peace and bread.

Before we saw Germany we had seen the devastation in France. It was terrible enough, but it was the destruction of buildings made of bricks and stone. In Germany we saw the slow destruction of people of flesh and blood, and that is far worse. As I think back I see hospital wards full of children with multiple bone tuberculosis, with great masses of tuberculous glands such as no American doctor ever sees nowadays, with tuberculosis of the lungs, and the form called lupus, "the wolf," because it eats into the skin, forming deep ulcers. I remember an outdoor hospital in Frankfurt where naked boys lay in the sunshine, the only thing that the blockade could not shut out, their ribs and shoulder blades showing through their skin, their arms and legs like sticks.

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I remember their midday lunch, a bowl of soup made of coarse meal—12 per cent bran—and green leaves with a few drops of vegetable margarine. I can see a little village in the Erzgebirge where the kindly schoolmaster told us of the terrible "turnip winter" of 1917, when the potato crop failed and for weeks Saxony had no food in its markets except white turnips. In that village there were children of three years who had never been able to learn to walk, boys of thirteen and fourteen who were little old men, shrunken and weazened.

Is it true that if we send food to France the Germans would take it? The Quakers say it is not true. Ex-President Hoover says it is not true. The Quakers are even now distributing to the people of unoccupied France food which they buy in Switzerland and Portugal, and they have no trouble at all with the Germans. Fifty-six Quakers are over there directing relief, and surely their word can be trusted. The Polish Relief Commission* and the Red Cross tell us that the Germans have helped, not hindered, relief in Poland. Moreover, the Quakers are ready to promise that, should the Germans commandeer their supplies, they would at once withdraw, and their record in Spain proves that they can make a most effective protest.

The defenders of the blockade quote statistics to show that in the near future the occupied countries will be so close to starvation that there will be uprisings against the Germans and this will help to break Hitler's power. But starving people have no strength to revolt, and the day of uprisings of unarmed mobs is past. What can street barricades do against tanks and machine-guns, to say nothing of bombing planes? It is true that in the last war the blockade did succeed in starving the Germans, but now, with most of Europe under the sway of Germany, this does not seem possible. Surely it is the conquered countries that will suffer most; probably they alone will know extreme privation.

One wonders what our own position will be after this war is over. We shall have to live with these countries, and it may be hard if we have won the hatred of a whole generation. The French, the Dutch, the Belgians, the Norwegians know that we have a surplus of foodstuffs which we would gladly be rid of. What will be their feeling toward us if we make no effort to send it to them who need it so sorely? In 1919 one of the most tragic things I found in Germany was the cynical disillusionment of the people, who had thought that when the war ended, starvation and hatred would cease and a new Europe would begin. The soldiers came back home to find wife and children starving, and then followed six months of an even tighter blockade, and then Versailles. Who can say how much the resentment engendered by this bitter experience was responsible for Hitler's rise? As the food stringency increases through the winter, the people of the conquered countries will come to resent the blockade more than they do the German occupation, for when you are hungry and your children are crying for bread, you can think about nothing, literally, except food. May not this turn them more toward the Germans, away from those responsible for their hunger?

This war is being fought to save the values for which civilized people stand—not only for freedom and justice but for mercy and a belief in the supreme worth of each human being. If we choose as our weapon starvation, not of the fighting forces but of the most helpless, are we not destroying the very values we seek to save? We may tell ourselves that as soon as the war is over we will hasten to bind up the wounds, to feed the hungry, to win back our friends. But we cannot bring the dead back to life or hope to drive out the spirit of bitter resentment in the survivors.

The Quakers and the Red Cross and Herbert Hoover and the refugees from the conquered countries tell us that the hungry can be fed if we will help them and induce the British to permit our foodstuffs to go through. All our instincts, all our traditions bid us do this. If we refuse, we are yielding to a policy that is cruel and un-Christian and at the same time needless.

* See the letter from Maurice Pate in *The Nation* of November 9, 1940.

Relief, Limited

BY STEFAN TH. POSSONY

CAN America send food to the people in the countries conquered by Germany without aiding Germany and Italy and weakening the British blockade? This is a question with which American public opinion is deeply concerned; it can be answered only after a thorough examination of the facts and after the following preliminary questions have been answered: What kind of foodstuffs does Europe need and in what quantities? How can the distribution of food be reliably supervised? What direct and indirect effects would such food distribution have upon the German war economy?

Chief attention is focused on the conquered countries of Northern and Western Europe, which must import agricultural products and which normally have a food deficit of about 25 per cent. Hitherto this deficit has been made up partly by imports from other European countries—for example, synthetic fertilizer from Germany, feed corn from the Balkans—and partly by imports from overseas. The entire region at present under Axis control—that is to say, Germany and Italy, most of the Balkans, Poland, and the conquered countries of Western Europe—has, with normal crops, a food deficit of 12 to 15 per cent (figures of the Deutsches Institut für Konjunkturforschung). Since the last crop was prob-

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ably far below the average, the present deficit in Axis territory must run to approximately 20 per cent. This deficit is chiefly in high-grade foods, such as fats, meat, fish, fruit, and milk, and in feed and phosphate fertilizer; grain, potatoes, vegetables, and sugar are probably available in sufficient quantities.

One way of coping with this shortage is through rationing, which can be carried out in Western Europe within certain limitations without impairing the general health. In addition, the food requirements can be shifted to products raised at home which were not consumed as long as more palatable items could be imported from abroad. Production can also be increased almost everywhere, especially the production of grain, vegetables, goats' milk, and rabbit meat. This can be done in France by the utilization of large areas of fallow land and the intensified cultivation of subsistence gardens; in those countries which have hitherto been unfamiliar with scientific agriculture—that is, all countries except Germany, the Netherlands, and Denmark—it can be accomplished by the application of Germany's huge surplus of potash and nitrate fertilizers. The use of synthetic fertilizer can make agricultural production rise by leaps and bounds despite the lack of phosphates, which have been cut off by the blockade. It should be understood, furthermore, that existing shortages may be met, at least until the next crop comes in, by the supplies in storage.

It seems clear, therefore, that the per capita calory consumption in countries under Axis control need not necessarily decline greatly, certainly not to the point of famine. Vitamin consumption, however, is likely to fall steeply, and it is here that the real danger lies. Germany is staving it off with synthetic vitamin compounds, undoubtedly with a measure of success. But this procedure has certain limitations: not all vitamins can be manufactured; production cannot meet the quantity requirements; synthetic vitamins by no means eliminate the need for natural vitamins. Synthetic foodstuffs, moreover, give rise to indigestion and stomach ailments, partly because they provide insufficient bulk. Nor should one forget that general conditions in the Axis regions—lack of soap, warm water, and heat, the use of unheated bomb shelters, and the psychological irritants resulting from the war—have increased the demand for nourishing foods.

The results of a diminution and deterioration of the food supply are seen first in weakened nervous and physical resistance and lessened working capacity, then in acute hunger epidemics, and finally, when the supply has fallen below a very low limit of calories, in famine and death. The phase of weakened resistance is shown most quickly by children, pregnant women, nursing mothers, and sick people. Supplies of food at present available in the Axis regions exclude any danger that the third phase will ever be reached; even the second is highly unlikely as things are today, though resistance to disease may be noticeably lowered in regions where an already undernourished population is put on short rations, as in Poland.

Emergency action to counteract a lessened working capacity is unnecessary and would merely serve to injure Great Britain. Conditions in Europe today certainly do not demand it on a large scale provided the Continental transport system functions and the Nazis distribute evenly all existing foodstuffs. The Central European transportation network has suffered greatly since the outbreak of the war and is of doubtful capacity. Many local breakdowns are caused by the bombs of the RAF. On the other hand, the freight load has fallen since the disappearance of a front in France, and many towboats have become available for inland and coastal shipping. As for fair distribution, it is certain that Germany and Italy will take for themselves whatever they need; it is equally certain, however, that they will try to prevent famine in the occupied territories which serve as bases against England. If they wish to protect their soldiers from infection they will have to feed the native populations too. In spite of sensational reports to the contrary, no real undernourishment is visible except in Poland, and the present far from critical situation is not likely to become appreciably more acute for some time.

How can food distribution be supervised? That depends in great part on the extent of the proposed distribution. During the World War, when the problem was to feed seven or eight million people in Belgium and northern France, there was reasonably effective control. That it was not as effective as is claimed is shown by the following remark of Princess Blücher, the wife of a high official in the German Foreign Ministry: "I can add that England, without knowing it, is paying for our dinners, for the food that we are able to obtain generally comes from Belgium and was sent to feed the Belgians" ("Notes Intimes"). If Britain continued to permit the supplies to go through, this was chiefly because even greater infractions than those that occurred would hardly have mattered. During the World War for every Belgian or Frenchman supplied with American food there were some fifteen starving Germans and Austrians. Today for every person in the conquered western and northern states there are but two and one-quarter Germans and Italians—only one and one-half if Eastern Europe is added to the West and North. If food were sent to the European population today, any diversion of it by the Axis would benefit ten times as many Germans and Italians as were benefited during the last war. And since today it is not a question of feeding a mere seven to eight million persons, but of feeding forty-five million in Western Europe and an additional twenty to thirty million in Eastern Europe, control would be proportionately more difficult.

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In the World War, moreover, control was tied up with certain political realities that no longer exist today. The Comité Nationale, which supervised food distribution in Belgium, enjoyed the confidence of the British and was regarded by the Belgian population almost as a substitute for the Belgian government. Under present conditions it is unthinkable that the Nazis would tolerate such a committee. The only committee that could operate today would consist of Quislings and de Mans, and such a committee would certainly not command the confidence of Great Britain. Effective control could be exercised only by means of a large staff. If this staff were loyal to England or composed of neutrals, Germany would hardly tolerate it; if it were composed of persons loyal to Germany, England would have no guaranties.

Control of large-scale food distribution in all or most of the countries occupied by Germany seems, therefore, hardly practicable. Alleviation of an acute emergency in a limited region, however, offers fewer difficulties. Certainly supplies could be sent to maternity and nursing homes, hospitals and kindergartens, milk could be dispensed in schools, and food could be distributed to prisoners of war if Germany would admit supervising agencies made up of neutrals enjoying the confidence of the British.

Even if control were air-tight, it cannot be doubted that large-scale relief for the subject peoples would benefit the German war economy. Germany can make excellent use of well-fed skilled workers and through them of the industrial plants of the conquered regions. And it would rejoice at the chance to commandeer foodstuffs from the countries under its control. Its utilization of the increased working capacity of those countries—a factor of great importance which England could under no circumstances permit—could be prevented only if relief were restricted to persons not engaged in work, such as babies, nursing mothers, and sick persons. It is erroneous to suppose that the receipt of food might prevent the migration of skilled workers to the Reich. This migration will take place if and when Germany needs workers regardless of the available food supplies. Finally, the argument that American supplies would increase the chances of a revolutionary uprising do not require refutation; Hitler would not permit the supplies to go through if this possibility existed.

Of the high-grade foodstuffs that Europe needs to combat malnutrition this country has only limited amounts for export. Part of these limited quantities would presumably be sent to the twenty million Frenchmen in unoccupied France; part would have to be reserved for England, whose health requirements are much more gravely threatened than those of any other country except Poland. Thus little would be available for the occupied regions in any event. The United States cannot think of eliminating malnutrition from a population almost as large as its own. It can contemplate no more than relief for children, pregnant women, nursing mothers, sick persons, and prisoners of war; the general population can be helped only in those depressed areas which are seen to be nearing the famine phase. Since it is impossible to foresee where shortages will be most severely felt, relief campaigns should be organized only as the crises arise.

The Duty of the Emigré

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

SINCE the fall of France the ranks of the anti-fascist émigrés in the Western Hemisphere have been greatly strengthened by the arrival of men snatched from totalitarian vengeance. In spite of legal obstacles and bureaucratic red tape, it has been possible to save lives whose loss would have impoverished the common treasury of culture and art.

Left behind in the occupied territory or in regions only nominally free are still many of our best fighters, who turn desperate eyes toward the sea in search of ships that never arrive. Among them are a hundred thousand Spaniards, men to whom the road across their own land to Portugal has been closed since the beginning of the war. They live in constant danger of being delivered over to Franco. In the past six months about five hundred of them have been returned to Spain through the cowardice of the French authorities or the brutality of the Gestapo. Some have already been executed. The fundamental duty of solidarity unites those who have been saved and those who await help, and this obligation has the same force whatever may be the nationality of the refugee—the title of anti-fascist being the only valid qualification. There can be no doubt about this duty; surely every refugee who has crossed the frontier of death feels bound to lend all aid to the work of rescue.

With respect to what I believe to be another duty of refugees—the duty of active participation in the anti-fascist struggle—opinions differ. Frequently people who are generously inclined to aid the refugees trapped in Europe retreat from any action that is not purely humanitarian.

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I have heard more than one distinguished émigré argue that gratitude to this country for the hospitality accorded refugees obligates him to keep silent, to abstain from all political activity. This attitude ignores the universal character of the struggle imposed upon the world by expanding totalitarian aggression; it fails to recognize that in this decisive period there is no zone of spiritual neutrality in which a free man can take refuge without deserting his own cause and betraying the country which opened its doors, not to a tourist, but to a fighter against fascism.

The present conflict between progressive forces and totalitarian insanity takes on the same character everywhere. The outcome of the battle will have the same consequences for the people who are today fighting vigorously against the Nazi armies, for those who have already fallen under the domination of Hitler, and for those who have not yet experienced foreign invasion or seen treason successful within their own country. If it is incorrect to speak in a restricted sense of "the Battle of England"—as it was incorrect to speak of "the Battle of Spain" three years ago, as if its outcome affected only the armies which faced each other on the battlefield—it is equally unrealistic and dangerous to believe that the active assistance of the United States in the defeat of fascism is a family question involving Americans only. The battle for democracy is our battle—the battle of the Spanish people, the French people, the German people, of all people who cherish freedom—whether the military encounters take place over England or over a country where air-raid warnings have not yet been heard.

Time is short, and the chances of winning the war against Hitler are still too problematical for anybody to allow himself the luxury of relying only on the gallant efforts of the RAF or the Greek infantry to bring about victory. Behind this year of war which is drawing to a close lie four years of costly errors for which no democratic country can honestly disclaim responsibility. The people who brought about the present situation still exercise their dangerous influence in circles where foreign policy is made.

Under ordinary circumstances the question whether Lord Halifax should continue to hold the portfolio of Foreign Secretary would be one which concerned British subjects alone. But if the Battle of England is our battle, we who carry the responsibility for the death of half a million Spaniards are morally obligated to denounce the stupidly childish policy of appeasement of Spain which today dictates the position of the British Foreign Office. Men whose past record includes a "Munich" are scarcely entitled to ignore the advice of those who from the first day clearly understood that temporizing with Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco must inevitably end in a total war fought under the worst possible conditions.

Anti-fascist émigrés have a knowledge born of experience and a fighting spirit which should be used in the common cause. We do not seek to intervene in the internal politics of the country which has received us. We ask only to take our rightful place in the general struggle against Hitler, on the outcome of which depends the fate of our own people. In a word, instead of remaining inactive, simply as tolerated guests, we have the duty to participate in this last great battle. And there can be no doubt that this is the last. The margin of errors which can still be rectified grows smaller every day. A few more grave mistakes, and everything is lost; 1941 may be the decisive year.

This war is as much a political war as a military war. Time does not permit us to sit back and wait for the day when fifty thousand planes will take the air above the countries dominated by Hitler. The need to help England with the greatest possible speed and determination is obvious. But the military effort must be reinforced with political effort. Not by arms alone, but by revolutionary politics and diplomacy can Hitler be defeated.

The people who today are living under Hitler's terror—including the German people—must be led to revolt against his intolerable despotism. As I write these lines I think of Spain. For in fact Hitler and his *Gauleiter,* Franco, are the same. I cherish the belief that this war, which actually began in Spain, may end in Spain with a victory for democracy. From France, from Holland, from Norway, through a hundred apparently insignificant details, comes a message of hope. Even the Italian reverses in the eastern Mediterranean can be explained only by a spirit of revolt among the Italian peasants and workers, who seem to be more interested in defeating Mussolini than in advancing on Athens. More than an orderly retreat, it is mass desertion, clear sabotage in the classic form through which an army in opposition to the policy of the nation expresses its resistance.

The possibility of a revolutionary uprising in the occupied territory and in the countries within the German sphere of influence is no mere refugee invention. It is a reality for a not too distant day, provided that British-American policy does not apply the balm of appeasement. Unfortunately there are many types of appeasement, just as there are many types of typhus. Not long ago it was reported from London that certain elements close to the Foreign Office look upon Salvador de Madariaga as the man who might reconquer Spain for the democracies. The idea is grotesque. It is an insult to the British aviators who are risking their lives at this very moment, an insult to the heroic people of London, and to the half-million Spanish fighters who lie buried in the soil of my country. Politically Señor Madariaga is a Spanish joke in exceedingly bad taste. We might as well try to make a revolution in France with Sacha

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Guitry, if that entertaining comedian of the French bourgeoisie had left his country out of personal dislike for Laval or Bergery. But the everlasting appeasers will go on looking in every hotel, bar, and university of Europe and the Americas for archdukes and charlatans to whom they can safely confide the rebirth of a Europe that must go farther to the left.

Here is where the political duty of the émigrés becomes tangible and immediate. They must contribute to the revolutionary process in every way possible. But in order that their intervention in the general struggle against Hitler may be efficient it must be preceded by a union of all true anti-fascist forces in a single fighting front. That can only be achieved by the formation—here in the United States where its action could exert the broadest influence—of a sort of Central Council of the Emigration, composed of those men from the different European countries who have a record of struggle and a courageous vision of the Europe of tomorrow. There is no time to wait until the divergent tendencies within the national refugee groups crystallize in a single aim. Each national group carries within it the poison of its own internal quarrels. Nothing divides men more sharply than disillusion and defeat. I have lived through the tragedy of three emigrations. When Mussolini came to power, Italian political refugees in Europe, with whom I was in close contact, appeared to be more interested in apportioning blame for past mistakes than in seriously fighting against the Fascist regime. After 1933 the German refugees outdid the Italians; each of the old German parties split into three or four distinct branches which furiously abused one another. Then came the Spaniards, and I am not sure—in spite of three years of war which united the people with indestructible ties—that we are not the worst. But in spite of differences which divide the national groups, union is possible around a program of action that will discard negative criticism, prepare the way for the people's revolt against Hitler, and lay the basis for the new United States of Europe.

To work effectively, the Central Council of the Emigration should have at its head a few men—it is not intended to be a caricature of the League of Nations or a new P. E. N. Club—whose task would be to organize political work in the different European countries in the degree to which this work can be promoted from abroad. It would be responsible for informing the American public and anti-fascists in general about the true situation in Europe and for interpreting facts according to their real political meanings. The very existence of such a council would eliminate much of the lamentable confusion which makes possible such a fantastic proposal as the restoration of the monarchy in Spain, or some other insane project recalling the days of Versailles when little states were created at the caprice of the great powers.

This is surely an idea that lies close to the heart of everyone conscious of the responsibility resting upon him by virtue of the fact that he has been saved from the concentration camp and is free to work for a better world. But every day that is allowed to pass without putting the project into effect weakens, perhaps irreparably, our chances of ultimate victory.

The Indivisible War—III

BY RALPH BATES

British Labor Does Its Job

AT THE present moment, when even conservative observers of the war are beginning to realize that Britain must call upon movements of revolt in the conquered countries, we hear talk of a revolution having already occurred in England. This article, which is based upon the view that a revolution occurs when new classes, and their parties, either assume power or indelibly set their stamp upon social effort, will attempt to estimate the effects of the war so far on the social structure of Great Britain. It will thus be a brief study of the momentum of the British Labor movement, for the deepening of democracy and the removal of conservative and imperialist hindrances to the successful prosecution of the war will only be accomplished, in my opinion, by the ability of the Labor Party to radicalize itself, to take over effective direction of the war, and to carry popular opinion with it.

It happens that in the whole of the period following Versailles the British Labor Party has very adequately summed up, and represented, both in its strength and its weakness, the British dissent from the conservative view of society. The Labor Party has always clearly recognized that peace and prosperity would not be achieved under capitalism, but it has sensed rather than perceived the dynamic of European history. The weakness of the party has been that it has not developed a body of theory. Yet that has also been a source of strength. By refraining from those ill-executed somersaults which have characterized the so-called Marxists of Britain, the party has never isolated itself from mass opinion.

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The public sentiment which the Conservative Party was able to utilize in furtherance of its foreign policy was the profound desire for peace. The disillusionment that followed the First World War, the Conservative and Liberal violation of war-time promises, and the perversity of the post-war foreign policies of Conservative governments similarly strengthened the pacifist tendencies of the British Labor Party until eventually a resolution—moved by Sir Charles Trevelyan, who was not of the working-class, trade-union core of the movement—calling for a general strike in the event of war was passed by a Labor Party convention. The year of its adoption—1933—was significant. Thereafter, as the danger of fascism was better understood, militant pacifism declined. Gradually the emphasis was laid upon new forms of collective security, which at successive annual conventions became ever more clearly defined. At the same time the party, always thinking realistically, perceived that collective security had a maximum and a minimum objective. The first was to preserve peace by building up a powerful block of non-aggressive states, including the Soviet Union. The second, an inescapable corollary of the first, was by means of such alliances to defeat the Axis should Hitler go to war. As early as 1936, therefore, the Labor Party began to recognize the need for developing military resources, and by 1938 it had definitely assented to rearmament.

Labor's support for the present war was not a consequence of its membership being stampeded into belligerence, much less of any betrayal by the leadership. In the preparatory period its approval of rearmament had not been conditional upon the reactionary British government's concluding an alliance with the Soviet Union or upon any self-liberalization of the Tory Party. The result was that both the party and the Trades Union Congress immediately announced their support of the war. The realistic view prevailed. The slow-moving wisdom of the party had grasped the profound dialectic of history. Its views, once it understood that dialectic, can be summed up in these memorable words:

> [The party has never hidden] and never will hide its detestation of fascism and its readiness to take part in any struggle, political or *military* [my italics] to secure the defeat of fascism. For it recognizes that the victory of fascism represents not only a conquest of markets, colonies, sources of raw materials, etc.; it also leads to the forcible destruction of every democratic right and liberty that the working class has fought so bitterly, at such cost and sacrifice, to win from its class enemies.

But these words, strangely, are not those of the Labor Party. They are taken from the September manifesto of the British Communist Party, in which that party "hurled the workers into the imperialist war." On September 14, indeed, the leader of the British Communists even criticized the Labor Party for having, because of its lingering pacifism, sought to hold back the declaration of war for a few hours.

Not only was Labor's assent to the war a foregone conclusion, but, in addition, the war-time policy of the party, its whole conduct and technique of support, was determined by the steps it had taken in the interest of the working class before the war broke out. The Labor Party had ample reason to foresee that the Conservative Party would adopt measures damaging to the movement and to democracy. As early as 1938 it had therefore set about preparing its defenses. Only one example can be given here. In the early part of 1939 it became known that the government was planning the compulsory distribution of dock labor in the event of war. The Transport and General Workers' Union, of which Mr. Bevin is the head, was asked to assent to the formation of mobile battalions of dock laborers. About the necessity of moving dock labor from the east to the west coast there was never any doubt in the mind of Labor. However, the trade unions, deeply mistrustful of the government, insisted that it should be done under a civil authority in which the union should have place and upon a voluntary basis. In general, all these questions arising out of the need for reorganization were submitted to a special conference of the Trades Union Congress on May 19, 1939, and the General Council's report, outlining the technique of war support, was approved by 3,923,000 votes to 350,000. Of the minority, a great part objected only to certain features of the proposed plan.

At the outbreak of the war Labor expressed its distrust of the government, and in doing so adequately reflected public opinion. That the Conservative Party, by and large a dangerously perverse and incalculable agglomeration of business men, was primarily responsible for the war was the opinion of a great majority of the working class. That the Chamberlain government was inefficient, for all its arrogant boast of a monopoly of administrative intelligence, the war itself was to make clear. Labor thus refused to join Mr. Chamberlain's government, for by joining a government excessively staffed with appeasers, incompetents, and reactionaries it would have surrendered all guaranties of its preservation and would have gained no power to enforce measures necessary for the winning of the war. The party weakened its position, however, by agreeing not to contest by-elections. No doubt the fear of splitting the Conservative Party, which at that time might well have placed even more power in the hands of the appeasers, was the underlying reason for the electoral truce.

On the industrial side the movement at once began a steady and constantly augmenting effort to permeate the new administrative apparatus of the country. The relations between the ministries and the trade unions, with certain exceptions, were far from cordial. Just as Mr.

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Chamberlain had declined to defend Britain upon the basis of collaboration with the other European democracies, so now he was incapable of calling upon the democratic dynamic which alone could win the war. Naturally enough, the outbreak of hostilities gave rise to a spate of legislation, which inevitably, so far as the Acts of Parliament were concerned, could only outline general principles. Their concrete formulation was left to orders and regulations. How complex was Labor's task of vigilance may be realized from the fact that by May, 1940, the 40 new acts had required 700 orders and 400 regulations, an enormous number of which affected the movement in one way or another.

The government was slow to draw upon the trade-union movement and dilatory in the elaboration of administrative machinery. On October 5, 1939, for instance, the T. U. C. had proposed the formation of a Trade Union Advisory Committee, and after half-hearted dickering this was accepted. Even then the official practice was not to call this committee together. In general, Mr. Burgin, Minister of Supply, in the words of the Labor Party, "combed the Directory of Directors and the more recent editions of Debrett for the personnel of the Supply Council, while for his area officers he has resorted to the quarterdeck and the regimental mess."

In many cases Labor pressed for admission to committees and obtained it, but no legal provision was made for the concession, and to a large extent administrative power was withheld. Reluctance and distrust were the keynotes throughout. The Prices of Goods Act of 1939 is a case in point. Only at the second reading on October 19 was Labor able to obtain representation. The Export Council was another, though here some executive power was obtained. The Miners' Federation, again, approached the Mines Department concerning the organization of fuel supply. Not until the breakdown in the first winter of the war showed the need for serious effort did the government take adequate steps. The Coal Supply Act of April 5, 1940, then set up a Coal Production Council upon which three trade-union representatives sit. The T. U. C. also obtained places upon the central and regional food councils and upon the advisory committees for the control of raw materials. In this case, however, the controls, despite Labor's objection, remained exclusively in the hands of the ministries. That has since been changed by Mr. Morrison. During his occupancy of the Ministry of Supply three employers and three T. U. C. delegates have been added to the controls. Sharp fights have sometimes occurred, as in the regulation of the fishing industry, where the powerful Transport Union under Mr. Bevin was able to secure a total reorganization of the government scheme. The unions are now strongly represented on the Fisheries Advisory Council. In one other case, that of shipping control, the last I shall quote, the unions concerned on September 28 actually proposed the creation of a new ministry, which was eventually done. A constant struggle was necessary to safeguard the interests of seamen exposed to the dangers of war. The final debate in Parliament, on March 18, 1940, demanded by Labor, greatly damaged the Chamberlain government.

To sum up, the government's attitude toward the Labor movement was negative. It sought, on the whole, to make limited use of Labor on advisory rather than administrative committees. The Conservative Party, or, to put it simply, the capitalists of Britain, were jealous of surrendering any control whatsoever. Many of them at heart did not want to fight. They would have welcomed a "palace revolution" in Germany and a false peace that would have left fascism intact.

As in the American Civil War, the course of military events eventually gave irresistible urgency to demands which had their origin in social conditions. Within the Labor movement two opinions had been gaining ground throughout the spring of 1940—that the right-wing Conservatives then in office were incapable of winning the war, and that Labor's policy of refusing to enter the government was damaging the party in public esteem. It was, none the less, altogether impossible to collaborate with the appeasers. The failure in Norway at last split the Conservative Party and made possible the formation of a new Cabinet in which Labor would not be compelled to play a subordinate and undignified role. At the same time the strongest warning must at once be given not to regard this as a "revolution" or as justifying the irresponsible optimism about the future expressed in many liberal circles. It was a guaranty of democracy and a step in the right direction. That is all. Real and significant changes have taken place, but there is still absolutely no assurance that in the event of peace the Conservatives will not be able to drive Labor from its immensely valuable but vulnerable positions.

The attack upon the appeasers, vigorously sustained by the Labor movement, suffered certain illuminating changes as a consequence of the fall of France. Previous to that event, or to the public comprehension of it, certain trade conventions had demanded the dismissal of the appeasers. As late as the first week of July the National Union of Railwaymen had unanimously called for such a solution of the national problem. Mr. Bevin, commenting upon the French disaster, had spoken clearly:

> The conflict [he said] resolved itself on the Continent not as a war between nations but as an international civil war . . . and let this be said for the working people, even the Communists, there is no evidence in Norway, in Holland, in France, or in Belgium that any part of the working class, whatsoever the political party might have been, operated as a fifth column. The fifth column came from higher up.

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At the convention of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, held a little later, the resolution formerly moved by the Labor Party calling for the expulsion of the remaining appeasers was put forward by the Communist leaders of the South Wales Miners' Federation and rejected by the other mine fields, undoubtedly on Labor Party recommendation. It has been said that this temporary reversal of attitude was due to the deep and almost universal distrust of the Communists. As soon as the Soviet Union had obtained gains in Poland, the Communist Party, with its usual subordination to Moscow, had suddenly declared the war to be imperialist and British democracy to be no better than German fascism, which upon one occasion the London *Daily Worker* described as a mere bogy. However, the change at the Miners' convention probably grew out of a fear of pressing the right-wing Conservatives too far. For the Chamberlain supporters, in the historic May debate, had possessed a majority in the House. Alarmed by too severe an attack they might have withdrawn support of Mr. Churchill's government. That, I think, was the belief of the Labor Party.

The establishment of the new administration on May 11 effected enormous changes in the country. The magnitude of the effort which now had to be made brought forth drastic legislation. The total mobilization of all resources, decreed in the Emergency Powers bill of May 22, made demands upon the working class which could never have been fulfilled had not Labor itself obtained important positions in the Cabinet. Labor willingly accepted longer hours and submitted to industrial-mobilization schemes when these were to be controlled by its most powerful and clearsighted representative, Mr. Bevin, as Minister of Labor. Trade-union collaboration became a living reality, and to a great extent its very character was transformed. More and more legal provision was made for it. It became less a matter of optional consultation than of administrative control.

It is utterly untrue to say that the unions have weakened themselves by this acceptance of responsibility. The Conditions of Employment and National Arbitration Order of July 18, under which Labor gave up the right to strike, also made it compulsory for employers to observe trade-union conditions. The terms of the order, which minutely regulate arbitration and which are subject to revision at the close of the year, were largely drawn up by the T. U. C. and the Employers' Federation. The rise of living costs, more or less inevitable during war, have not been counterbalanced by adequate wage increases, but the unions have not lost their militancy. In recent weeks four major organizations in the railway, shipping, and engineering fields, angered at the employers' refusal of legitimate increases, have asked the government for arbitration of their demands by the tribunal appointed for that purpose. In that tribunal Labor has representation. On the analogy of previous appeals under Mr. Churchill's administration the unions will obtain a compromise verdict in their favor. Already Mr. Morrison and Mr. Bevin have announced that excessive hours, rendered necessary by the negligence of Mr. Chamberlain, are hindering rather than augmenting production. They are being reduced, and this process will continue.

In two vast fields the new government has not yet accomplished those transformations which are vitally necessary, and on both counts Labor will be compelled to make a fresh drive toward effective intervention. Despite the drastic measures taken, no real plan for the thoroughgoing exploitation of resources has yet been evolved. The observer cannot fail to note that it is the structure of capitalism itself which interposes obstacles and which has so far resisted serious amendment. Manufacturers in industries not organized as trusts are still thinking in terms of competition. The massive bulk of the great trusts has to some extent prevented the full use of resources. The nature of the problem is obvious. The danger to national unity which its solution necessarily presents is not less so. At some moment when the bitter logic of the war has made the next step self-evident, capitalism itself must be amended in the direction of socialism. It would be too much to expect a complete transformation of Britain during the war; nevertheless, the problem throughout is that which the American Civil War presented to the Radical Republicans, the problem of imparting to the war effort the quality demanded by its origin and inner reality. To refuse support, or to shirk the task of creating morale by transforming democracy, because changes are not instantly made would be to repeat the error of Garibaldi, who made his aid conditional upon Lincoln declaring a forthright abolitionism. Marx and his socialist followers were of a more realistic mind. As for the Radical Republicans, Mr. Hacker says of them:

> . . . the Old Radicals (supported by the New Radicals) were ruthless. Over Lincoln's protests they passed through Congress the Confiscation Acts of 1861 and 1862. They drove Lincoln into issuing the Emancipation Proclamation. They established their own so-called Committee on the Conduct of the War (in Congress) and hounded the President until he got rid of weak generals and was ready to prosecute the struggle relentlessly. They clamored, until they were successful, for the arming of the Negroes and their use in the Union's armed forces. ("The Triumph of American Capitalism.")

A similar part must be played by British Labor. To a very great measure it *has* done its duty.

As yet the transformation of British foreign policy lags behind the social adaptations carried out within the country. But on the achievement of this depends not only

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the successful prosecution of the war but the future welfare of the world. The Labor Party has once or twice raised in the House the question of war and peace aims, but to no great effect. Its own ideas have been publicly stated, in necessarily abstract form. The elaboration of schemes for a Federal Union or a new League of Nations is not a very realistic enterprise at present. What is necessary is that Labor, and with it all progressive opinion, shall gain the power to support its general principles in any situation that may develop in Europe. Wars nowadays terminate in revolutions or in great modifications of society. Since the reconstruction period in Europe is bound to be one of turmoil and confusion, daring of mind and imaginative liberation will be necessary if the reactionary classes are not to thwart the hopes of mankind.

The present struggle is an imperialist war, but it is also an anti-fascist war, and it should have labor's support in this country, for there is now no danger of fascism developing in England. Even if the important social changes which the exuberant optimists have by anticipation proclaimed do not occur during the war, Labor and progressive opinion have already conquered such positions that the defeat of the Axis will of itself liberate the peoples, particularly the working classes, of Europe and produce radical phenomena.

[*This is the concluding article of Mr. Bates's series.*]

The Decline of Boss Hague

BY WILL CHASAN

THERE are people in the inner circles of New Jersey politics who predict that Boss Frank Hague will quietly abdicate within the next six months. Some say that he will stand for reelection as mayor of Jersey City next May, to give his constituents a chance to demonstrate their enduring trust and affection, and then resign immediately. The Boss is tired, they say, and wants to step down.

Whether these predictions will find confirmation in the coming months is of much less importance than the accumulating evidence that Hague's grip on New Jersey politics has already been loosened, and that the influence of the nation's most powerful and disreputable political boss is definitely in decline. The November elections, which were mistakenly regarded by many as an indication of Hague's continuing strength, proved exactly the opposite. They revealed widening cracks in the foundations of his machine and created the conditions for its further disintegration. The three components of any successful political machine, in the order of their importance, are ability to get out the vote, control of patronage, and the loyalty of lieutenants to the man at the top. In the November, 1940, elections the Hague machine lost large blocks of votes, forfeited the control of state and federal patronage, and observed numerous signs of disaffection among its lieutenants.

The Hague organization extends across the state of New Jersey, but it is based on Hudson County, of which Jersey City is the stronghold, and has concentration points in Bergen and Passaic. An examination of the vote in these counties shows huge shifts, the significance of which has been overlooked by most post-election analysts. In Hudson County the plurality for Charles Edison, Democratic candidate for governor (now governor-elect), dropped 23,000 below the plurality given in 1937 to A. Harry Moore, water boy for the Hague machine. The Roosevelt plurality fell off 69,000 from the 1936 vote, but this, for obvious reasons, is a less accurate guide to New Jersey's internal political alignments than the gubernatorial vote. In Bergen County the Republican plurality shot up from 6,000 to 49,800—a major political disaster under any circumstances. The swollen Republican lead, however, was no real surprise to political insiders, who had watched the campaign go on without any active participation by county leader Jack Breslin's Democratic organization.

Unlike Hudson and Bergen counties, Passaic County showed no defections. In fact, the slim plurality gained by the Republicans in 1937 was erased, and Edison went ahead by 2,400 votes. But this was not due to any effort of Hague's lieutenants. Edison's Passaic plurality was the work of an alert, aggressive Trade Union Committee for Roosevelt, Wallace, and Edison, led by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the textile unions.

What labor did in Passaic it did throughout the state. Under the sponsorship of Labor's Non-Partisan League, in each county the American Federation of Labor, the C. I. O., and the Railroad Brotherhood unions were brought together for joint campaign activities—with salutary results. Hague did not "deliver" New Jersey. Without the labor vote the staggering losses in Hudson and Bergen would have been enough to topple the Democratic state and national tickets. Hague lost New Jersey in Hudson and Bergen; labor won it in Passaic, Mercer, Essex, and Camden. This is freely acknowledged by Edison's campaign managers; in fact, political leaders of both parties feel that labor emerged from the 1940 elections a first-rate political force, perhaps holding the balance of power in the state. What this means for Hague's political fortunes is clear.

Hague's dominant position in New Jersey politics was made possible in the past by his ability always to amass in Hudson County a plurality sufficiently large to capture any Democratic state primary and most gubernatorial elections. This enabled him to hand-pick the Democratic candidate for governor and thus to control the very con-

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siderable patronage at the governor's disposal. Hudson County's strategic hold on the governorship made it necessary for the lesser Democratic leaders to apply for patronage through Hague. Aided by an uncommonly shrewd trading instinct—Hague's ungrammatical speech amuses his enemies, but his political cunning has more often caused them chagrin—the Boss used his formidable advantage to build his fences all over the state; until recently only one Democratic organization in New Jersey of any account had more than a semblance of independence. This was the Middlesex County organization of Attorney General Wilentz and State Senator Toolan. Middlesex had independent strength because it was the only large county except Hudson which regularly returned a Democratic delegation to the state legislature. Even Middlesex had to work with Hague, but it did not follow Hudson County docilely as did other sections of the party.

This arrangement, which had enabled Hague to rule the Democratic Party for the last twenty-one years and the governor's mansion for fifteen of these (in normally Republican New Jersey!), was sharply upset in the November elections. For the first time since 1919 a Democratic governor who is not "a Hague man" will take over at Trenton. A quiet, firm, capable man, with genuine, if limited, liberal views and undoubted integrity, Charles Edison, the governor-elect, was never a Hague choice. He was first suggested for the governorship in September, 1939, when he was Secretary of the Navy, at a meeting of the state executive committee of Labor's Non-Partisan League. The suggestion was taken up by liberal Democrats and Republicans, and was finally forced upon Hague by New Dealers in Washington, who feared that any candidate bearing the onus of Hague sponsorship would lose the state for Roosevelt. It now appears to have been a shrewd estimate.

After Edison was nominated, Hague's deputies tried to assume direction of the campaign, but they were rebuffed. Edison and his advisers, apparently from the start, wrote off a good deal of the normal Hague plurality, and decided that the outcome of the election would be determined by the labor vote.

Under Hague the Democratic Party's normal attitude toward labor was one of hostility. This attitude effectively blocked the only channel through which there could be any infusion of new life into the anemic Democratic groups outside of Hudson County. With the rural vote and the heavy commuter vote going to the Republicans, the Democrats' only hope lay in acquiring greater support from New Jersey's big but politically apathetic industrial population. The barrier to cooperation with labor was partly removed when the Supreme Court in June, 1939, upheld the C. I. O. in its fight for free speech, and Hague, acquiescing in the decision, made a truce with the C. I. O. leaders. This permitted increased labor participation in Democratic politics, a trend that was greatly accelerated by Edison's campaign and election.

As a result the Democratic organization in the state as a whole has been strengthened to the point where Hague, whose own elastic pluralities in Hudson have been diminished by Republican election reforms, can no longer dictate the outcome of Democratic primaries. A combination of Middlesex County, Mercer County, where two Democratic assemblymen were elected with labor backing, and Camden County, where three assemblymen were elected in the same way, could probably defeat Hague. In addition, other county leaders who have resented Hague's arrogance are undoubtedly now ready to turn against him. Indications of this were visible during the campaign. The Hague office admitted a fear that it was being double-crossed by its Gloucester County allies. In Bergen County a revolt has been brewing against the leadership of Breslin, Hague's lieutenant.

Mayor Hague

Other sections of Hague's political domain are expected to break away now that the Boss no longer has the means with which to bludgeon recalcitrants into line. It appears fairly certain that he will receive little federal patronage and no special favors from Trenton. Those close to Edison have allowed it to be known that Hague will be treated with no greater consideration than other county leaders. They have also hinted that Edison would like to let out a great many of the incompetent Hague appointees who clutter Trenton offices.

So the Boss seems headed down. Years ago he may have been able to plunder the graveyards for a plurality large enough to confound his enemies. Election reforms have altered the situation. He may hold on indefinitely in Hudson County, but his reign in the state is coming to an end, and his loss of power in the state will inevitably affect him even in Hudson County. It is probable that he will retire. There is a good reason. The extravagances of his machine have brought Jersey City to the edge of bankruptcy, and the days ahead do not promise to be pleasant.

Meanwhile strange things are happening in New Jersey. After eight years the New Deal seems finally to be percolating down from Washington. The Democratic Party, with its strong new labor elements and with Edison at its head, is taking on a liberal tinge.

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In the Wind

SIC TRANSIT: On November 29 the Detroit *News,* an ardent Willkie pre-election voice, published three paragraphs about Mr. Willkie's jaunt from Florida to New York. The item was buried in the obituary columns.

WHEN THE PRICE of milk went up recently, a cooperative store in Brooklyn put a sign in its window saying that its dairy saw no necessity to boost rates. Several representatives of large milk distributors called to urge the manager of the store to remove the sign. They failed. A short time later the co-op's supply of milk vanished from the sidewalk.

THE THOMAS GIBSON SERVICE, reputed to be the oldest financial advisory service in the country, was pretty gloomy before election about the "danger" of a Roosevelt victory. It now tells its clients that "the Senate is prepared to reassert the authority of Congress as a coordinate branch of the government, and apprehensions of the development of a domestic dictatorship come more and more to resemble the demons conjured up by an over-active political imagination."

THERE WASN'T A PEEP of protest when William Green's salary was jacked up at the A. F. of L. convention—from $12,000 to $20,000. One reason, it is said, is that a lot of A. F. of L. leaders are expecting salary increases as a result of rising union incomes, and they thought it was nice to have Mr. Green's go up first.

WAY DOWN SOUTH in New York: "Forty-eight of the Bronx's fifty-four candidates who were processed last night too late for camp spent the night in the Concourse Plaza Hotel. The six others, Negroes, went to the Harlem Branch of the YMCA."—From a story about draftees in the *World-Telegram,* November 28.

PROPHECY: Coughlin's *Social Justice,* commenting on the C. I. O. convention, announced that "four years hence one will not be surprised to find a C. I. O.-nominated and -dominated candidate elected to the Presidency of the United States on the Republican ticket." *Social Justice* is being pro-C. I. O. these days, although still worried about "pagan" elements.

IN AN ADDRESS before the New York State Congress of Parents and Teachers, as reported by the New York *Herald Tribune,* Dr. Ignatius Taubeneck said: "Women of this country must stop playing the fascist game of bridge and have more children if we are to preserve democracy in the world. Let's not fiddle while Rome burns."

LIBERAL NEW DEALERS are talking definitely about raising funds to buy the Hearst newspapers. David K. Niles is the leading spirit behind the move.

[*The $5 prize for the best item submitted last month goes to Thomas Walker of Detroit for the item about Willkie printed above.*]

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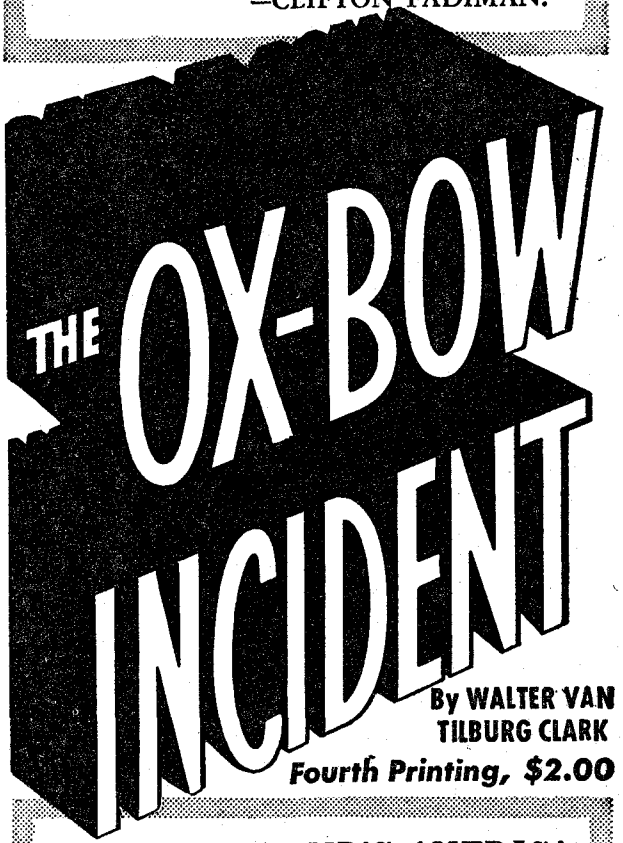

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A Native at Large

BY JONATHAN DANIELS

SO FAR as I can find out, hardly anybody cares anything now about Fred E. Beal. He is just a fat, sunburned convict working in the laundry and in the fields at North Carolina's Caledonia Prison Farm. He is no longer the symbol of red revolution. He is no longer a menace to angry industrialists. The word "Gastonia" is no longer vivid in the vocabulary of America. So nobody cares. Beal is just a man in prison. The fact that a good many people think he was never guilty of the crime for which he was sentenced is beside the point. The fact which he emphasizes is that while many Americans are ready to carry banners for a member of their own group in a prison, or for any dramatic actor in a dramatic cause, great interest in an individual who symbolizes nothing but injustice is rare.

It is true that Beal has just been given what is called "clemency" by the Governor of North Carolina, who was one of Beal's prosecutors when he was sentenced after the killing of Chief of Police Aderholt at the culmination of the Gastonia textile strike of 1929. The Governor, who goes out of office in a couple of months, cut Beal's sentence on the ground of his good behavior in prison so that he will get out of prison five years from today. Obviously that good-behavior record would have stood for the next governor to act upon. Almost automatically it would have won consideration. Action on it at this time served only to say that the Governor declined to free the prisoner he had helped convict. The only man who gets anything out of the decision, so far as I can see, is the present governor, Clyde R. Hoey, who conceivably may have some bad memories of his part in prosecuting Beal. It was a procedure which put as much emphasis on atheism and radicalism as on murder. The trials were spectacles. The sentences satisfied fears. The Governor's act takes the shape of magnanimity. But the magnanimity still leaves Beal a convict.

Give the Governor credit: he says he still thinks Beal is guilty. Give him credit, also: in the book in which Beal told his story, from the Gastonia strike and trial to his disillusionment with communism, he called the Governor "self-righteous," spoke of his "prurient curiosity," and described him as "looking for all the world like a quack-medicine barker, with his winged collar and chocolate-brown swallow-tailed coat." The fact remains that the Governor knows that nobody yet knows who fired the shot which killed the policeman, and he knows that the firing in the night from strike headquarters followed the destruction of former strike headquarters by a mob. (No member of this mob was ever arrested.) Maybe the Governor believes, as he said in his recent "clemency" statement, that the strike was part of a "Communist uprising."

Other facts deserve remembrance, nevertheless. In the trial in which Beal was convicted that year, seven men were sentenced to long prison terms for the death of one man (seventeen to twenty years for Beal). In the same year in North Carolina eight textile strikers or strike sympathizers were killed, and nobody was punished for killing any of them.

All that is history now. The world moves on. The Gastonia strike is forgotten. It is not even mentioned in the economic and social history of the town which has been published under the editorship of a textile manufacturer. The liberals at home and abroad seem to have forgotten also. A few remember, but they are overwhelmed by newer, more intellectually fashionable causes, and they are unable to arouse interest in others.

It is not surprising. Certainly Beal is just a little, effeminate-looking fellow doing the washing of other convicts. Maybe he is even, as some say, a rat who snapped at the capitalists and then ran out on the Communists. But he is a man, and he is unjustly in prison. (The Prosecutor-Governor does not agree to that.) The little ex-Communist is a cipher in injustice in a world overwhelmed with vaster oppression. He is the Mr. Zero of liberal causes in the United States.

He is guilty now of being undramatic. And that is almost, it seems, a greater crime than being poor, or being unpopular. But in his obscurity he raises the question whether anybody in the United States is seriously interested in justice as such—in justice merely. No good nor any harm would be accomplished by turning Beal loose. He is just a man, getting on in his forties. He'll be about fifty when he comes to the end of the time left for him by Governor Hoey's "clemency." His yellow stubby hair by then will be gray.

So far as I know he has nothing to commend him but his innocence—again Governor-Prosecutor Hoey does not agree. I doubt that that is sufficient. He is not a cause. He is just a man. And that is not enough for either enthusiasts or liberals. He does not give them a show in a world of bombs and planes. His case is undramatic, individual, and out of date. He is not a show worth staging. In the American mind he is buried alive.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Notes by the Way

I FIND IT rather amusing that Henry Seidel Canby, perhaps the most dignified of our literary statesmen, considers the romance of Robert Jordan and Maria in "For Whom the Bell Tolls" one of the "perfect love stories in modern literature." In my review of Hemingway's book I brought in one minority report to the effect that Maria was the only unreal character in the book and that the romantic great-love-at-first-sight was unconvincing. Maria has no organic relation to the main story; moreover, in the course of a long book full of characters who grow as we read—like figures coming toward us—into human beings with whose personalities and fates we become almost painfully involved, there is absolutely no development in the character of Maria. She is a ready-made pawn—symmetrical and submissive—whom Pilar pushes into Jordan's sleeping bag and whose function begins and ends just there. The love scenes read as if they had come out of a tap turned on and off at will, and Hemingway's attempts to out-Joyce Joyce are pretentious and flat. The love story, in other words, borders on pulp, though no pulp magazine would allow such frank descriptions as Hemingway's to appear in its pages. That is why I find the rapture of Mr. Canby, who would not touch *True Stories* with a ten-foot pole, amusing. Hemingway's treatment of women and love is ridiculous but not amusing, because the fact that Maria is a complete blank mars his book as a whole and in particular undermines the characterization of Jordan.

It may be objected that if Maria fails to become real, the other woman in the book, Pilar, does not. But Pilar's reality has little to do with the fact that she is a woman. It is her masculine characteristics that predominate and make her interesting. The test of Hemingway's capacity for creating a woman character is Maria. He fails that test and in the process reveals an attitude toward women and love compounded of adolescent naivete and what seems to be an equally adolescent, belligerent condescension toward women as human beings. As if in revenge against women, who baffle him, he forces Maria to occupy the role of a sexual convenience and at the same time contrives to put her on a pedestal. It is hard to say which is worse from the artistic point of view. Maria is sure-fire, of course, with American readers, including Mr. Canby, and her unreal presence in a book rich in other characterizations so obviously based on close and creative observation even raises the suspicion that she was deliberately invented. I should prefer, in a way, to believe that; but I suspect that the real explanation is even less to Hemingway's credit as a mature writer. I can't help feeling that Maria actually represents Mr. Hemingway's, and Mr. Canby's, conception of woman as she is or should be—which is pretty discouraging.

I HAVE A MEMORANDUM from George Joel on "Oliver Wiswell," the latest novel by Kenneth Roberts, "King of the Slicks" (slicks are magazines printed on coated paper which pay authors a minimum of ten cents a word). Mr. Roberts, who has built up his reputation and his prosperity on sugar-coated versions of early American history which have had a tremendous popularity, has chosen this "patriotic" period, of all others, to launch a book which presents the American Revolution from the Tory point of view.

> Some of our more vigilant educators [says Mr. Joel] have banned Dr. Rugg's books because he hints that the social and economic standards of America could stand improvement. What will they do about a book, bound to be more widely read than textbooks, which states that the only people who supported the American Revolution were "the human dregs of the country," which labels John Hancock a smuggler and Sam Adams an embezzler and describes our forbears as "pockmarked, furtive-eyed, shambling, hoarse-voiced peasants"?
>
> I've come across a clue here and there that casts some doubt on the notion that the motives of the American revolutionaries were purely idealistic. It seems the colonists objected to being exploited, underpaid, underfed, badly housed. Mr. Roberts, without denying these facts, objects to their method of expressing themselves. They were in the main uneducated, rude, and uncouth; they had, in other words, the common faults of those who fight desperately for survival. The common people never seem to find time to learn manners, and Mr. Roberts does not like people who lack manners.
>
> I don't like Oliver Wiswell. He is a very stuffy fellow. If he were living today he would be a Union League Club Republican; and if you transplant his story to a modern setting, you have a diatribe against the democratic concept of life.

That apparently is exactly what Mr. Roberts had in mind in writing "Oliver Wiswell." He is said to be one of our most violent present-day tories, a distinction he shares with the professional patriots of the Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution. But perhaps he has outsmarted himself. He has presented the D. A. R. with a nice dilemma. The Daughters would undoubtedly agree with his opinion of the underprivileged, but they can hardly be expected to admit that their treasured ancestors belonged to the great unwashed. Mr. Roberts should have chosen another revolution. In any case it will be interesting, as Mr. Joel suggests, to watch the career of Oliver Wiswell, particularly in Hollywood.

LINGUISTIC NOTE: A letter from Oslo relates that German soldiers in Norway are equipped with a German-Norwegian phrase book, edited by one Lieutenant Colonel F. Sulzberger, which contains the following sequence of questions and commands in the section designed for soldiers on duty—there is another section for general use.

> Are you the mayor (minister, teacher, manager, etc.)?
> Open all the cabinets.
> Where is the cash?
> How many crowns are there?
> Write down the amount here.

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Have you any money anywhere else?
I confiscate all funds.

There is the whole story of the occupation of Norway and other countries by the Nazi gangsters abroad. The new order of robbery is being carried out with true German thoroughness; and one may even be amused, in a sinister way, by the strong odor of bureaucracy that rises from these minute, systematic instructions for looting.

IT SEEMS that readers are complaining about the fact that books are getting almost too heavy to hold. For that reason Harper, I am informed in a publicity note, decided to issue a small thin-paper edition of "Mark Twain in Eruption" as well as the larger regular edition. This small edition, according to the release, was sold out before publication. I hope that readers will go right on complaining and that publishers will heed the complaints. A book that is small enough to stick into a pocket, printed in good type and flexible as to cover, is ingratiating in itself, but the tendency has been all the other way. Competition for the reader's attention has fostered sheer exhibitionism in book-making, especially in the matter of size and thickness of paper. So-called "fine books" are likely these days to be big books. What is needed is well-designed small books. This is a cause that might well be taken up by the *Dolphin,* "a periodical for all people who find pleasure in fine books." The *Dolphin* was originally the annual of the Limited Editions Club. It is now to be issued as a "quadrimestrial" magazine, and I have been meaning for some time to report that I find its first issue very engaging. It is concerned only with The Book. There are articles on The Printer as Author, Edward Lear (with illustrations and quotations), a detective story in which the sleuth uses as a clue a forged copy of the "Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," a discussion of Persian book-making, a sharp little essay on typography by George Bernard Shaw—he has strong opinions about that too. The final item is The Purloined Letter, by Poe, here printed in a type that has never been used before. The *Dolphin* will include such a reprint in each issue. When a dozen have appeared they will be bound into a book free of charge. But won't it be a big book?

MARGARET MARSHALL

Things in the Saddle

THINGS IN THE SADDLE. By George Norlin. Harvard University Press. $2.50.

AMERICA'S DILEMMA: ALONE OR ALLIED? By Norman Angell. Harper and Brothers. $1.75.

ALL OUT! HOW DEMOCRACY WILL DEFEND AMERICA. By Samuel Grafton. Simon and Schuster. $1.

PRESIDENT GEORGE NORLIN of the University of Colorado was Theodore Roosevelt Professor at the University of Berlin for the academic year 1932-33. On November 5, 1932, he delivered his inaugural address in Berlin on "Understanding America." This lecture, forming part of the present volume of essays, is worth rereading at this time. Dr. Norlin, born on the American frontier, living and teaching in a western state where the memory of the frontier is still alive, interprets American history as a march from frontier to frontier. "Every frontier in American history represents in greater or less degree a revolt against exploitation and tyranny and a reassertion of the worth and dignity of the human being." The goal of this march is the American dream of creating a soil and climate where every human personality, according to its capacity, may flower and be fruitful. The dream must be reckoned with by anyone who wishes to interpret the past of America or foretell the direction of America's future. While Dr. Norlin thus tried to explain America to the German students, they staged a tumultuous welcome for him to the Third Reich.

Dr. Norlin watched National Socialism mount into the saddle. Being a scholar and a trained observer, he could penetrate beneath the surface of the "sinister flood with its sublimation of the savage in man and its deliberate mobilization of that savagery against all the moral restraints and decencies which civilization has built up to make human life tolerable on this not too kindly planet." Since his return he has tried to tell his fellow-Americans of the new ideas which are trying to ride mankind. Most of the essays in his book speak of the irreconcilable clash between democracy, which he interprets in the opening essay in the light of Lincoln's thoughts and actions, and its "brutish opposite," against which democracy must ride, armored and weaponed. A militant defense of democracy against the fascist counter-revolution is the frontier on which America now finds itself.

Two other books set forth with remarkable clarity and incisiveness the necessary conditions for a successful fight on this new frontier. One deals with America's foreign policy, the other with its domestic policy. The first is by a man who has spent many years of a fruitful life in the quest for peace and in an effort to convince other men that peace, lasting peace for all nations, can be had if men are ready to pay the price. Norman Angell puts before the American public, which he knows well from the many years he spent here as a laborer and farmhand in the West, the dilemma that faces America at present. His book discusses this burning question with a profound understanding of the common man's point of view, with logic and clarity, and with a far-sighted grasp of immediate realities. Every American should read at least this one book on foreign policy.

Angell's thesis, that America can have security and peace if Americans are ready to pay the price, is echoed, with a different accent, by a younger writer, an American journalist who concentrates on the domestic effort and policy needed for the preservation of democracy. Samuel Grafton's brief pamphlet is written with a telling force; some of the things it says ought to be learned by heart by everyone who takes democracy seriously and realizes the present unique threat against it. "The test of our fortitude is not whether we can fight like the devil once we get into the trenches, but whether we can place the trenches where we want them by muscular thinking." "Historically, democratic rights did not come into the world to be protected by the people; they were created to protect the people. It is American democracy which has protected the American Civil Liberties Union," and not vice versa; "with no attempt to disparage that organization it can be said that, in a genuinely undemocratic setting, its members would have been hanged long ago. They were able to do

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good work for democracy because we had it. In a Hitler Germany, where such an organization would be most useful, it is not possible to have one."

Grafton is one of the very few who understand that in the struggle against totalitarian fascism every action must be judged by its effect upon this struggle, that there are no isolated and no neutral actions, that life and business cannot go on as usual, that fascism is a unified world-wide system which thinks and acts as a system, to which democracy must apply a democratic rebuttal on a similarly systematic level. Democratic civilization dare not lose this struggle, "for when it loses, it loses everything, and perhaps forever." No revolution is possible against a victorious fascism; the people cannot rise against a system built on the resolve, and armed with the necessary ruthlessness to carry the resolve through, that the people shall not rise.

Mr. Angell has written a mature book on America's foreign policy in the present situation. With the restraint of experienced age he restates a creed often stated before and proved true by the course of events. Mr. Grafton has thrown out a revolutionary appeal full of fervor and faith. He admonishes American democracy that only *more* democracy, a militant faith in democracy refusing all weak-kneed compromises with fascism, can achieve the conquest of the new frontier, which is not an American frontier only but, in the deepest meaning of the American dream, a frontier for all mankind.

HANS KOHN

Mr. Hackett's Second Country

I CHOSE DENMARK. By Francis Hackett. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

IF YOU want a textbook on the social and economic organization of Denmark (pre-April, 1940), this is no book for you. Nor will you be wise to look here for a topographical guide. But if an urbane and civilized writer's appreciation of an urbane and civilized society appeals, go to your bookseller at once.

You will find a revealing picture of Denmark, although one almost totally devoid of photographic detail. Mr. Hackett is an impressionist with his own somewhat oblique methods of pointing the high lights and low lights. Don't be surprised to find him constantly shooting off at a tangent and returning, many pages later, in a grand parabola to his main theme. Inevitably he has much to say about Ireland, and if the book were indexed, which God forbid, England, France, and America would have many entries. There are numerous anecdotes about people—Jane Addams, Arnold Bennett, Nansen, Mike Collins, and Judge Julian Mack, to mention only a few in a catholic list. All of this may seem to have very little to do with Denmark, but actually these digressions play an integral part in explaining why Denmark is civilized and how it got that way. They help to explain, also, the transformation of Francis Hackett the somewhat raw young Irish nationalist, who would have been infuriated by the bourgeois virtues of Denmark, into Francis Hackett the mellowed cosmopolitan, who found in that small country a maturity of mind and spirit, a tolerance and an adult gaiety, to which he could not fail to respond.

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By ARTHUR K. SOLOMON. "A lucid account of how scientists have pried successfully into the long hidden secrets of the atom and made discoveries already useful to man in medicine, physics, and other fields."—*Cincinnati Times-Star.* $2.50

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I am glad to record that this book does not neglect the more material qualities of the Danes. Some of its most eloquent pages are devoted to Danish food. The coffee and cheese receive a well-deserved tribute, but why is there no mention of Danish fish except for a rather unhappy episode with an eel? Has Mr. Hackett never tasted those tiny, delicate shrimps which, poured in a pink shower on a piece of bread thickly spread with the best butter in the world, make the perfect appetizer?

Mr. Hackett was happy in his adopted country and his book reflects that happiness. Yet it underlines the tragedy which has overtaken Denmark, and it hits hard at aggressors and those who condone their deeds. The following passage scores a bull's, or should we say, an eagle's eye:

> There are those who, when themselves outraged by kidnappers, ask for every penalty the law can give them. It is strange they can be willing to see whole nations kidnapped and expect those nations to pursue appeasement. All those nations ask for is to be given back to their own direction, to be given back while there is still life in them and while they can make their voices heard. How deaf the inner man must be who cannot hear that cry!

KEITH HUTCHISON

Ambassador to the Hemisphere

THE AMERICAN CHOICE. By Henry A. Wallace. Reynal and Hitchcock. $1.

DURING the recent campaign Mr. Willkie did a great deal of talking, much too much, some of his supporters said. Yet one of the most unsatisfactory aspects of his candidacy was revealed not by his words but by his silence on one of the crucial issues facing the United States today. This is the problem of hemispheric defense and hemispheric economic, educational, and political cooperation. Mr. Willkie's failure to rise to this issue may be explained on many grounds. The most obvious is the very limited background with which he came to the campaign. Another—suggested by his violent attack on a navy purchase of $8,000 worth of Argentine beef—was probably his fear of alienating millions of farmers producing the same products as Argentina, Canada, and other countries in this hemisphere. But the most important reason for Mr. Willkie's silence is more complicated and cuts deeper—right into the issue of which social forces are for appeasement of the Axis and which are against it. The test is not willingness to help England or to build up national defense; few Americans oppose either. But willingness to defend Staten Island is an academic issue, if only because if and when the time comes the Axis will be traveling in this direction by a different route, the southern one. The real litmus paper for appeasers is Latin America. For it is there that the Axis is setting the stage for its first post-war offensive. Genuinely anti-appeasement forces are all for going to work now to give the impoverished and desperate countries of Latin America the wherewithal to resist this offensive. They are for building a two-way economic conduit between South and North America. But the appeasement groups—from Little Italy to Wall Street—are for doing nothing about Latin America now, and they will be for an American Munich if ever the grasp of the Axis reaches the River Plate.

This is the main theme of Henry Wallace's new book, as it was the theme of his tireless campaigning. And no higher tribute can be paid our new ambassador to Latin America than this simple statement of fact. For in order to arrive at this hemispheric position Mr. Wallace has had to make two decisions agonizing to a politician: he has had to admit that a previous stand of his was wrong, and he has had to act contrary to the wishes of his own pressure group, the farmers. *Nation* readers will remember that in a series of articles published early in 1939 I took Mr. Wallace to task for involving himself in a war with Latin American farmers by dumping produce in Europe, and then for dumping crops in Latin America itself. Mr. Wallace went off on this tangent because the European crisis had cut off the American farmer from vital export markets. But as I pointed out, the crisis had hurt the Latin American economy even more, and Mr. Wallace's short-sighted remedy was tending to deepen the world crisis by driving Latin America's politically dominant agrarians into Hitler's arms. Mr. Wallace has now completely reversed his position. The policy of the United States is now, intelligently, to let Argentina and Canada have first chance at the British market for foodstuffs, and to make a beginning at developing new domestic outlets for our surplus crops; much of the credit for this about-face is due Mr. Wallace's forceful assistant, Milo Perkins, who developed the promising Stamp Plan for domestic distribution of our crop surpluses.

Mr. Wallace makes a strong plea against trade with a Hitlerized Europe; he well knows that the only way to trade with Hitler is either to subsidize his purchases or to be drafted into the Axis. But, as he says, the Latin American economy is almost completely dependent on its old European market. There are two solutions. The first is for the United States to invest in a long-range program to develop rubber, metals, timber, drugs, and other materials of which it can get its money's worth in unlimited imports from Latin America. The other is to help the people of Latin America to exploit their abundant resources for their own use.

In this connection Mr. Wallace draws a stimulating analogy between the people of Latin America and those of our own South. He points out that in Germany, France, England, and Northwestern Europe generally there are 24 to 25 children under 14 years of age in every 100 people. In Latin America there are 40 children under 14 in every 100 people. In our own South also—as in Russia and Japan—children under 14 outnumber the older people, are in fact three times as numerous as those over 50. Mr. Wallace observes that in 1840 this was true of Vermont, New Hampshire, Illinois, and Indiana; at that time these states were more prolific than any nation in the world is today. Mr. Wallace's very practical vision is of the entire hemisphere's youthful, energetic, underprivileged areas coming into their own, thanks to financial aid from the older, wealthier areas in the United States, which are in economic trouble right now for lack of investment outlets.

During the campaign Mr. Wallace was the victim of much baiting as "just an idealist," which of course he is—without the "just" and without the sneer that explains the quotation marks. But apart from his magnificent record as an administrator of the Department of Agriculture's organizational,

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scientific, and economic services to farmers, he has all along concentrated on one practical matter which all men of vision agree is acutely urgent. This is described in the chapter called Soil Defense, which might have been subtitled The Influence of Erosion on Our History. The chapter recalls that Patrick Henry in his day told the Virginia Assembly that "he is the greatest patriot who stops the most gullies." It quotes what Washington, Jefferson, de Tocqueville, Andrew Jackson, Lyell, Theodore Roosevelt, and a host of scientists from Huxley to Shaler to the late Libert Hyde Bailey (of Cornell) and to contemporary experts have had to say about the horrifying destruction of our top soil. For as he says, "top soil is not immovable or static. It is a semi-fluid, forever moving, forever changing its form. The wind whips at the drier parts above, and even in humid parts, moves top soil. Even more insistently and seriously the push of water drawn downward by gravitation keeps top soil moving and changing. And once top soil is drowned, in a stream or lake or river or in shoals under the sea, it is dead soil, lost to farming. For soil, like man, must breathe the air and receive sunshine direct to stay alive and produce issue ashore." You can feel Henry Wallace's religion in these quaint, moving words. And you can see its practical results all over the country where "up-and-down" contour plowing is being introduced "to make running water walk, or creep, to store a far greater part of it in that greatest of reservoirs—the soil; and to do this by making the soil and its crops provide millions of natural little dams as impediments to run-off." Here, on millions of small farms, the practical idealism of Henry Wallace is finding its most enduring expression.

ELIOT JANEWAY

Vitamins

VITAMINS: WHAT THEY ARE AND HOW THEY CAN BENEFIT YOU. By Henry Borsook. The Viking Press. $2.

IN RECENT years there has been a flood of vitamin preparations on the market, in capsule form. While the sale of these capsules has been adequate from the commercial standpoint, a bad impression has been created in the public mind. Quite frequently the objection is arised, "Where did our forefathers get their vitamins from? Certainly not at the drugstore," the implication being that vitamin pills are a mere fad. The answer, of course, is twofold. First, our forefathers had nutritional diseases that we see only rarely today; and, secondly, we may need to pay special attention to our vitamin supplies because we eat many more processed foods than they did and the processing quite frequently destroys the vitamins.

Mr. Borsook's book contains a lucid account of the nature of the various vitamins and the food sources from which they can be obtained. But it is more than a book on vitamins; it covers the entire field of nutrition with special emphasis on the accessory food factors. Not only does it give the food requirements of adults, but it handles extremely well the problem of child nutrition. I should like to suggest it as required reading for directors of camps, both army and summer.

HUGH H. DARBY

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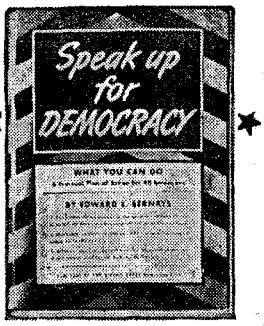

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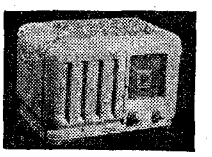

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Wagner: Duet from Act 2 of "Tristan und Isolde"; Flagstad and Melchior, orchestra under MacArthur; Set 671, $2.50. The same, with the *Liebestod* from "Tristan" and Immolation Scene from "Götterdämmerung"; Flagstad; Set 644, $5.50. Act 3 of "Die Meistersinger"; Dresden Opera singers and orchestra under Böhm (not a distinguished singing or recording job); Sets 537 and 538, $10.50 and $5.50. Brangäne's Warning from "Tristan"; Thorborg; 17223, $1. The same with passages from "The Ring" and "Parsifal"; Thorborg; Set 707, $3.50.

Wolf: Songs; Lehmann; Set 613, $2.75.

COLUMBIA

Bach: Clavier Concerto in D minor, arranged for violin; Szigeti and New Friends of Music Orchestra under Stiedry (poorly recorded); Set 418, $3.50.

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 4; Gieseking and Saxon State Orchestra under Böhm; Set 411, $4.50. Piano Sonata Op. 101; Gieseking; Set X-172, $2.50. Neither performance rates with Schnabel's.

Handel: Concerto Grosso Op. 6 No. 6; Weingartner and London Symphony; Set X-154, $2.50.

Haydn: Symphony No. 104; Beecham and London Philharmonic; Set 409, $3.50 (I prefer the Victor set). Andante and Variations in F minor for piano; Ernst Victor Wolff; 69876-D, $1. Piano Sonata in D; Wolff; Set X-158, $2.

Mozart: Symphony K. 385 ("Haffner"); Beecham and London Philharmonic; Set 399, $3.25. Symphony K. 425 ("Linz"); Beecham and London Philharmonic; Set 387, $3.50. Symphony K. 504 ("Prague"); Stock and Chicago Symphony; Set 410, $3.50. Overture to "Don Giovanni"; Beecham and London Philharmonic; 70365-D, $1.

Sibelius: "The Swan of Tuonela"; Stock and Chicago Symphony; 11388, $1.

Smetana: String Quartet, "From My Life"; Curtis Quartet; Set 405, $4.50.

Stravinsky: Suite from "Petrouchka"; Stravinsky and New York Philharmonic; Set X-177, $250. "Le Sacre du printemps"; Stravinsky and New York Philharmonic; Set 417, $4.50.

Tschaikovsky: Violin Concerto; Milstein and Chicago Symphony under Stock; Set 413, $4.50.

Wagner: Prelude to Act 3 of "Tristan und Isolde"; Weingartner and Paris Conservatory Orchestra; 69805-D, $1.

GAMUT

Mussorgsky: Songs and Dances of Death; Rudinov; Set MS-5, $4.50.

JAZZ

Muggsy Spanier Orchestra: "Dipper Mouth Blues" (Bluebird 10506), "At the Jazz Band Ball" and "Livery Stable Blues" (10518), "Riverboat Shuffle" (10532), "At Sundown" (10719).

Jelly Roll Morton Orchestra: "West End Blues" (Bluebird 10442).

Jess Stacy Orchestra: "I Can't Believe That You're in Love with Me" and "Clarinet Blues" (Varsity 8132).

Jess Stacy: "You're Driving Me Crazy" and "She's Funny That Way" (Commodore 529).

Earl Hines: "Rosetta" and "Glad Rag Doll" (Bluebird 10555).

Bix Beiderbecke Orchestra: "Goose Pimples" (Columbia reissue 35664).

Bessie Smith: "Cold in Hand Blues" (Columbia reissue 35672), "Baby Doll" (35674).

Louis Armstrong: "Potato Head Blues," "Knockin' a Jug," and others (Columbia C-28).

Benny Goodman Orchestra (1933): "Moonglow" (Columbia reissue 35839).

Red Norvo Septet (1934): "I Surrender, Dear" (Columbia reissue 35688).

Christmas records include John Jacob Niles's Victor set (718, $3.50) of early American carols and folk songs, with three that are especially fine: "When Jesus Lived in Galilee," "See Jesus the Savior," and the Cherry Tree Carol. The Trapp Family Choir sings a number of Bach Chorales moderately well (Set 713, $3.50). And Columbia offers a fine record of the Strasbourg Cathedral Choir singing "Les choeurs angéliques," "Qu'en un instant," and "Cantate Domino" (70372-D, $1).

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Civil Rights in Oklahoma

Dear Sirs: Twelve Oklahoma County residents are facing ten to twenty years in the penitentiary on charges filed under the long-forgotten state criminal-syndicalism law passed in the days of the Palmer raids. I have recently been released on $20,000 bond after spending nearly three months behind bars in the Oklahoma County Jail.

The wave of war hysteria in May stimulated the organization of various extra-legal organizations. Sheriff Goff of Oklahoma County organized a Civil Guard numbering some thousands to hunt out fifth columnists, the only known activity of which has been trailing various individuals. Manager Quinn of Oklahoma City organized an Emergency Defense Battalion, nominally to be ready in case of "rebellion," but in practice dedicated to the same activity.

As was to be expected, the Communist Party was one of the victims of the campaign. In June a gang of young men broke up a Communist Party meeting and forcibly stole some hundreds of books and pamphlets on display in the Progressive Bookshop in the next room. "Father" E. F. Webber, a fanatical evangelist radio preacher, announced two days later that "Communist literature had come into his possession, it did not matter how" and held a public book-burning the following week. It is interesting to note that among the books stolen were several copies of the Constitution of our country.

During this same period a number of individuals seen visiting the Communist Party office or talking to officials of the Communist Party were placed under arrest on charges of "vagrancy." I had occasion at this time to visit the police office in connection with a relief crisis here and was greeted by the Chief of Police, Mr. Smith, in the presence of a number of other members of the Workers' Alliance, with: "I don't care about what the Supreme Court says or what is in the Constitution. We are running Oklahoma City, and I won't have any picketing in Oklahoma City."

Then, on August 17, came simultaneous raids on the Progressive Bookstore, the Communist Party office, and the private homes of eight individuals, with the arrest of about ten others. The search warrants used were liquor search warrants—this is a dry state. Those arrested were thrown into the city and county jail under pseudonyms supplied by the police and held incomunicado in solitary confinement for days without any charges being placed against them. When we were finally taken before a judge the following week, bond was set at $100,000 each for five of us, and at $50,000 for seven others.

The preliminary hearing showed that the state's evidence consisted solely of books and private papers, most of the books being available in the library of the University of Oklahoma. However, we were all bound over to court.

On September 30 Robert Wood, state secretary of the Communist Party and a candidate for Representative-at-large on the Independent ticket, was brought to trial for the alleged possession of books advocating the crime of criminal syndicalism. The jury sentenced Wood to ten years in the penitentiary and a $5,000 fine after a two-week trial which culminated with the county attorney calling Wood "a Judas Iscariot paid with thirty pieces of silver from the Soviet Union in Moscow."

Alan Shaw, twenty-two-year-old city secretary of the Communist Party, is now on trial charged only with "membership in the Communist Party."

Where this will lead to may be judged from the fact that the city police, following the Wood conviction, raided one private home in this city and carried off as "subversive literature" Tolstoy's novel "War and Peace."

The Oklahoma Committee to Defend Political Prisoners is cooperating with the International Labor Defense on the appeal in the Wood case and in defense of the remaining victims. Wood and eight others are now out on bail reduced to a maximum of $20,000. The bail first set added up to over $850,000.

ELIZABETH ZELENY GREEN

Oklahoma City, December 2

Presenting "Usona"

Dear Sirs: I have had my attention called to words from Freda Kirchwey's pen: "Obviously all the American countries are equally 'American,' and the tendency of the United States to apply the term to itself alone is properly resented throughout the rest of the hemisphere."

For a score of years I have been troubled about the word America as used to designate the people of the United States. For a while I used "Unista" and "Unistatians" but that did not seem to appeal to the intelligentsia. I feel sure that "Usona" (United States of North America) is just the word we need and ask you to consider using it in *The Nation*. No matter how good an invention is, someone has got to advertise it, and the standing of your publication would soon bring it into use among people that like to be exact in the use of words.

JOHN B. BRANCH

Auburn, Maine, December 6

Efficient Government

Dear Sirs: Twenty years ago I subscribed to a daily newspaper of Republican leanings because it seemed to me to be patriotic and fair-minded. Two months before the recent election this paper changed its policy to suit its politics. It twisted news to favor its candidate, shunted to obscure columns important national happenings that might damage his interests, featured those that could be interpreted to his advantage. No item was too small for its attention if it could be turned to the disadvantage of the President or the members of the Cabinet or the government. No cartoon was too ingeniously cruel or patriotically profane for its use.

I telegraphed my protest: "What a chance for the undercover enemies of our country! Can we hope to cancel such a revelation of disunion after the campaign is over?"

Many newspapers told us all that a change of government would do great things for us. Some harped on the inefficiency of the present Administration. I began to figure up what this government, in the past seven years, has done for me. Here are the items:

Two letters which I wrote to the White House were acknowledged the day of receipt. One was referred to another department, which also communicated. In reply to my request for a letter to a consular officer abroad, the State Department sent me a circular letter, signed by Secretary Hull, to all consular officers, and advised me that "it would be safer in case of war." A recent request for an address was answered by the Under Secretary in a courteous let-

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ter. The Department of Agriculture has always replied fully and at once to my requests for information. Sometimes it has included data obtained from the outside to save me correspondence. When I reported a case to the Narcotics Division, it made a search as suggested, and inspectors came to see me. The Treasury Department, to which I wrote complaining that very little new money was to be had hereabouts at the time, answered by the next mail giving me the entire story of how old money is disposed of. I wrote the Post Office Department asking for the extension of a rural route a short distance to take in the house where I now live. Within a month it was done.

I am neither a politician nor a prominent citizen. If I get this service from our government everyone else does too.

GENEVIEVE W. MASON

Fairfield, Conn., November 27

Help Wanted!

That Old Steel Helmet

Dear Sirs: Steel helmets are urgently needed by the civilian population of England, according to cable advices to the American Committee for Defense of British Homes. Civilians are endangered not only by bomb splinters and machine-gun bullets during air raids, but also by falling shrapnel from anti-aircraft guns. Reports indicate that the incidence of head wounds is very high.

It has been estimated that there are still several thousand steel helmets in this country, souvenirs of the last World War. Our committee, which has been receiving contributions of small arms and binoculars for shipment to British civilians for defense of their homes, will be glad to arrange for shipping steel helmets also.

Every American who owns a gun, binoculars, or steel helmet can aid the British defense by sending it to the American Committee for Defense of British Homes, 10 Warren Street, New York.

C. SUYDAM CUTTING,
Chairman

New York, December 5

Desperate Misery

Dear Sirs: A tragic message just received from Switzerland by the American office of the World Council of Churches (in process of formation) makes dreadfully clear the effects of the most recent German action with regard to refugees. The cable reads: "Desperate misery non-Aryan refugees from Belgium, Baden, Palatinate, etc., deported to Camp de Gurs, Pyrenees, imperiously calls for our common help. Financial help means great relief. Our efforts insufficient. Please appeal strongly to churches and Christians for immediate support. (*Signed*) Professor Karl Barth, Basel; Professor Emil Brunner, Zurich; Dr. Alfons Koechlin, Basel."

Gifts for this purpose should be sent to the Committee on Foreign Relief Appeals, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City, designated for European refugee relief.

HENRY SMITH LEIPER,
Associate Secretary

New York, December 4

Gifts into War Relief

Dear Sirs: We wonder if *The Nation* would care to pass on to its readers an idea for converting Christmas-gift expenditures into aid for war-relief and refugee organizations.

The department-store counters are beginning to be loaded with back-scratchers, toilet water, imitation leopard muffs, embroidered sofa pillows, and smoking sets. Soon the organs will be thundering from Woolworth's to Wanamaker's to excite the shopping hordes into spending thousands of dollars for "exchange" of gifts. A few will be deterred by the pictures that flit through their minds of dazed children with fear in their faces and women trundling household goods along European roads.

We suggest that such persons send to their friends cards notifying them that a gift had been made in their name to such-and-such war-relief or refugee organization. The addresses of four of the organizations willing to participate in this plan are: The American Committee for Christian Refugees, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York; The American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia; The National Refugee Service, 165 West Forty-sixth Street, New York; The International Relief Association, 2 West Forty-third Street, New York.

GEORGIA BALL, MARGARET LEAHY, PAULINE BAKEMAN, DOROTHY T. PEARSE

Washington, December 3

For Chinese Orphans

Dear Sirs: Perhaps the most pitiful by-products of the war are the homeless, destitute, and orphaned children. There are so many now in the world that I fear we may forget the thousands of Chinese children awaiting rescue.

Mme Chiang Kai-shek has worked miracles in the efficient organizing of her orphanages: $12 in United States currency will feed and clothe a child for a year; $20 will, in addition to a year's maintenance, provide a child's training and education.

The China Aid Council, 200 Fifth Avenue, New York, is selling Mayling tea in many cities throughout the country. All the stores which are cooperating do so without deducting any commission so that the full profit may go directly to the orphans. Mayling Teas consist of three brands of China tea—Jasmine, Keemun, and Lapsang Souchong—as well as Darjeeling, the choicest of the India teas. They are packed in half-pound tins, as well as in gay, little lacquer-red samplers containing two ounces of each of the four brands.

Who can resist this opportunity to enjoy choice tea at a reasonable price and at the same time know that each half-pound tin one uses supports one of China's orphans for a week?

BETTY GRAM SWING

New York, December 6

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INFORMATION FOR SUBSCRIBERS

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